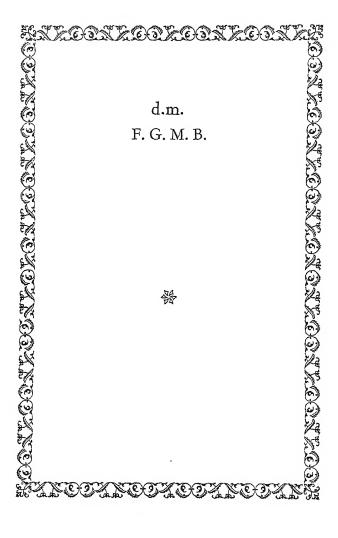


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AN ANTHOLOGY OF A MEDIEVAL LATIN





Joanna of Aragon, Queen of Naples By Giulio Romano. See page 110

AN ANTHOLOGY OF MEDIEVAL LATIN

ZOOZZOOZZOOZZO

CHOSEN BY

STEPHEN GASELEE

∾ ∾ M.A., F.S.A., C.B.E.

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PREFACE

THE PIECES OF LATIN IN THIS volume have been chosen in the course of desultory reading with a view to the requirements and interest of general readers—or perhaps I should say, of more than one kind of student. The classical scholar with any natural intellectual curiosity will not be prepared to close his reading at the Silver Age, or even with Claudian, but will want to see how the language of his studies developed when Roman literature was no more. The historian has Stubbs's Select Charters, illustrating the constitutional history of England; but he also needs medieval Latin which is not of this country and differs in style from the rather stereotyped Charter language; and those who are studying medieval languages, especially for such purposes as the form which the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos has now taken at Cambridge, require a certain familiarity with that part of the thought and culture of the Middle Ages which was expressed in Latin there is no hard and fast distinction between the twoand that which found its medium in the vernacular. The interest then of the following selection is more literary, and perhaps I may say social (using that

often abused word in its widest sense), than historical; and I will venture to claim for it one merit that may atone for the fast that it has not been made by a professional medievalist—namely, that it is impartial in its object, and is not put together in any particular interest. It has not been compiled to show the iniquity of the Pope and Popery, or to exalt feminism, or to combat Protestantism, or any other theory or institution; no piece, so far as I know, has been included or excluded for the opinions contained in it. The arrangement is nearly chronological; exceptions, occasionally made to keep similar subjects together, may be seen by reference to the Table of Contents. Explanatory notes have been kept down to the barest minimum sufficient to make the text intelligible to a person of moderate Latin acquirements: the point of such a Reader as this is lost if the task of reading is made too elementary.

I have not hesitated to include a certain number of passages of a period well past the Middle Ages. Latin is still a living language on paper though not orally, and the educated man will come across it occasionally in actual use. To stop at the Renaissance or the Reformation seems to me as great a mistake as to observe the downward limit, mentioned above, of the average classical student.

If any reader cares to study the subject more deeply, I will begin by discouraging him, and saying that there is no English book which he will find of much use.

For the earlier period (about as far as Prudentius, Saint Augustine, and Gregory of Tours) I would have him read Pierre de Labriolle's Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne (Paris, 1920); from then until somewhere about the year 1100 he will have the most detailed and painstaking Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters of Max Manitius (Munich, 1911–1923), in which each writer is treated with a mass of historical and bibliographical detail, but (may I say it?) without much literary acumen, to a total of some fifteen hundred pages: for the later period my reader will have to depend on the invaluable Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis of Fabricius, even if it does date from the early eighteenth century,1 and I hope on casual and general reading in Migne's Patrologia latina. On the linguistic side I would recommend Nunn's Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin (Cambridge, 1922) and, for more advanced students, Professor Grandgent's admirable Introduction to Vulgar Latin (Boston, U.S.A., 1907), which contains a most valuable account of the way in which Latin slipped into the romance languages. For texts—I deliberately exclude those in learned periodicals — I would recommend the Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte edited by Alfons Hilka at Heidelberg, Carlo Pascal's Poesia latina medievale

¹ There is an even earlier book of considerable use—Melchior Goldast's *Politica Imperialia*, Frankfort, 1614.

and Letteratura latina medievale (Catania, 1907 and 1909), and P. Thomas's Morceaux choisis de prosateurs latins et des temps modernes (Ghent, 1902). I think highly of the last-named, though it is little known in this country. If Professor Thomas had included poetry in his selections, and had kept in mind literary interest as well as historical illustrations, I doubt if the present volume would ever have been begun.

Except in I I have printed j for consonantal i; the reader will find this good old fashion in most printed texts of medieval writers, and I should not be sorry to see it return to texts of the classical authors as

well.

My friend, Mr. F. R. Salter, Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, has read the proofs, and given me some valuable suggestions; and I owe to him the selection of passages 6 and 25.

STEPHEN GASELEE



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AN ANTHOLOGY OF MEDIEVAL LATIN

I ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A CON-TINUOUS LITERARY TRADITION, much of medieval Latin is derived from the spoken dialect ("vulgar Latin"), and the inscriptions which remain to us are therefore of value as being in the direct ancestry of the forms of speech of the Middle Ages. The following specimens from Pompeii and elsewhere show both the literary and vulgar type.

- (a) Hec venatio pugnabet v k. Septembres et Felix ad ursos pugnabet.¹
- (b) Africanus moritur, scribet puer Rusticus condisces, cui dolet pro Africano.²

¹ Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, iv. 1989. From Pompeii, and so, like the five following, earlier than A.D. 79. A gladiatorial announcement. *venatio*—a show in which wild beasts were killed.

² C.I.L. iv. 2258 a (g). From Pompeii. condisces = condiscens = condiscipulus.

- (c) Labora, aselle, quomodo ego laboravi, et proderit tibi.1
- (d) Minimum malum fit contemnendo maximum.2
- (e) Mulus hic muscellas docuit.3
- (f) Admiror, pariens, te non cecidisse ruinis, qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas.4
- (g) d.m.s. Maximus et Lascius duo fratres convenientes in uno hunc titulum nobis posuimus vivis, ut possemus at superos securius vitam bonam ger[e]re, qua fini fata volebant. Qui qua vita viximus una, numquam inter nos fecimus verbumamarum, voluptates secuti simus omnes, vitae nostre a nobis numquam quitquam negatum est. I[t]a tu qui legis, bona vita vive sodalis, quare post obitum [n]ec risus nec lusus [n]ec ulla voluptas erit. Have, Maximae. Menten

² C.I.L. iv. 1870. From Pompeii. A proverbial ex-

pression, probably scribbled by a schoolboy.

3 C.I.L. iv. 2016 (g). From Pompeii. Another school-

boy's graffito.

¹ Buecheler's Carmina latina epigraphica (Leipzig, 1895), 1798. Found both at Pompeii and Rome, in the latter beneath a picture of a donkey working a mill.

⁴ C.I.L. iv. 1904. From Pompeii. Also found in other places where there was a multitude of scribbles.

habae quod legeris, quare vita morti propior fit cottidiae. Vale.¹

- (b) Memoriae Navigi, v[ixit] a. XIIII ut dulcis flos filius frunitus anima, ut rosa, ut narcissus. Parentes December pater et Peculiaris mater filio [p]io digno fecerunt fletes. Vultus tuos intuendo solacio prestas. Habebis memoriam . . . 2
- (i) d.m. Demetrius Aug[usti] dib[i] bibus fecit sibi et Ulpliae Creste coniugi benemerenti et Flaviano Aug. lib. filio et filis suis et libertis libertabusque posterisque suis. Si quis donationis eorum aea monumenta cum aedificis sui causa dederit sive vendaere voluaerit, infaeret aerario populi Romani centumilia nummum.³

(j) D.M. C. DOMITI PRIMI

Hoc ego su in tumulo Primus notissimus ille vixi Lucrinis, potabi saepe Falernum,

¹ C.I.L. ix. 3473. From Peltuinum. d.m.s. = dis manibus sacrum. at = ad. menten habae = in mente habe. e and ae are confused throughout, as in most of these inscriptions: in medieval Latin ae is regularly written e or ę. ² C.I.L. viii. 19,606. From Cirta. fletes = flentes. solacio prestas = solacium praestas. After memoriam are the letters tra, which may represent ultra or eternam. ³ C.I.L. vi. 16,809. dibi bibus = divi vivus. b and v, as e and ae, are throughout used almost indiscriminately.

balnia vina Venus mecum senuere per annos. hec ego si potui, sit mihi terra lebis. set tamen ad Manes foenix me serbat in ara qui mecum properat se reparare sibi.¹

- (k) l[ocus] d[atus] fun[e]ri C. Domiti Primi a tribus Messis, Hermerote Pia et Pio.
 - (/) Parbi sepulcrum corporis parentum non botis datu, quod fata properis cursibus rapuere lucis usibus. si nomen queres, qui leges, mensem priorem cogita: si qui fecerunt queritas, parentes dixi, sufficit.²
- (m) Vivit Q. Caelius Sp. f. Vivi[us] architectus navalis, vivit uxor Camidia M. l. Aphrodisia.

Hospes resiste et nisi molestust, perlege. Noli stomacare. Suadeo, caldum bibas. Moriundust. Vale.³

² C.I.L. x. 4183. From Caserta, rather late. The child's name was Januarius.

¹ C.I.L. xiv. 914. From Ostia. Lucrinia, oysters. The last two lines of the verse show a curious pagan idea of resurrection or metempsychosis.

³ C.I.L. x. 5371. From Termini. molestust, moriundust = molestum est, moriendum est. caldum, mulled wine.

- (n) Dii iferi, vobis comedo, si quicqua sactitates h[a]betes, ac tadro Ticene Carisi, quodqud agat, quod incidat omnia in adversa. Dii iferi, vobis comedo ilius memra, colore, figura, caput, capilla, umbra, cerebru, frute, supe[rcil]ia, os, nasu, metu, bucas, larba, alitu, colu, iocur, umeros, cor, pulmones, itestinas, vetre, bracia, dicitos, manus, ublicu, visica, femena, cenua, crura, talos, planta, dicitos. Dii iferi, si illa videro tabescete, vobis sacrificiu lubes ob anuversariu facere dibus parentibus iliu[s] voveo. Peculiu ta[be]scas.¹
- (0) Fuit mihi natibitas Romana. Nomen si quaeris, Iulia bocata so, que vixi munda cum byro meo Florentio, cui demisi tres filios superstetes, mox gratia dei percepi suscepta in pace neofita.²
- (p) Aureliae Mariae puellae virgini innocentissimae, sancte pergens ad iustos et electos in pace. Quae vixit annos xvII, mesis v, dies xVIIII,

¹ C.I.L. x. 8249. From Minturnae. Magical. The curse is inscribed on a leaden tablet, the forms being illiterate. The members of the victim, Tychene, are devoted piecemeal to the infernal deities. comedo = commendo. tadro = trado. frute = frontem. metu = mentum. ublicu = umbilicum. visica = vesicam. The second dicitos (digitos) means "toes".

² Marucchi, Epigrafia cristiana, 63. From the catacombs of St. Calixtus at Rome. bocata so = vocata sum. byro = viro. This and the following inscriptions are Christian.

sponsata Aurelio Damati diebus xxv. Aurel. Ianisireus veteranus et Sextilia parentis infelicissimae filiae dulcissimae ac amantissimae contra vo[t]um, qui dum vivent habent magnum dolorem. Martyres sancti, in mente havite Maria.¹

- (q) Hic requiescit in pace Argentia, qui bixit plus minus annos XL. Locum bero quem sibi benerabilis abbatissa Gratiosa preparaberat se vibam, mihi eum cessit. Coniuro per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum scm et diem tremendam iudicii, ut nullus presumat locum istum, ubi requiesco, violare. Quod si qui pot anc coniurationem presumserit, anatema abeat de Iuda et repra Naman Syri abeat.²
- (r) [Q]uiriace. [Qua]mquam nul[l]um ab his sorte et cond[ici]one esse inmunem [liqu]ido constet, verum id nobis dolori est, quod rari exempli [fem]ina, in qua iustitia mirabilis, innocentia singularis, castitas [inc]onparabilis, obsequentissima in omnibus, [abs]tinentissima orbatis tribus lib[eri]s, qui una mecu huic sepulcr[o] [prae]conia laudis eiusdem indiderunt, inmaturis, [hym]nis sit a nobis ad quietem pacis translata, cuique pro vitae suae [tes]timonium

¹ C.I.L. v. 1636. From Aquileia.

² Marucchi, op. cit. 410. From Rome, near Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere. pot anc = post hanc. repra = lepra.

sancti martyres aput deum et \mathbb{R} erunt advocati. [Qu]ae vixit mecum inculpabiliter et cum omni suavitate [du]lcissime annis 1111, mensibus quinque, diebus duodecim.¹

(s) Hic requiescit in pace Innocentius, qui deprecans scm Andream et scm Donatum et sca Iustina, ut si quis ista sepultura pos depositione eius aper[ir]e voluerit vel iusserit aperire, iudicium vestrum puniatur.²

RECORSOSECOESCOSE

2 One of the most curious and interesting documents of Roman antiquity is the Satyticon of Petronius Arbiter, a realistic and "picaresque" novel of early Imperial times. It is probable that the author is to be identified with the Petronius who was for a time a kind of "Minister of Pleasure" to Nero, and put an end to himself in the intriguing circumstances described by Tacitus when accused by Tigellinus of being implicated in a plot against the Emperor. In this

¹ Marucchi 118. From Rome, found near San Lorenzo fuori.

² Bullettino di archeologia cristiana, ii. p. 15. From Rimini. Note how the case-endings are beginning to drop off, showing the transition to the comparatively indeclinable substantives and adjectives of the romance languages.

case his writings may be put down to a date about A.D. 60. The novel describes the adventures of three disreputable young persons as they wander through the towns of Southern Italy; we unfortunately possess it only in a very fragmentary state.

There is, however, one long and almost complete episode, which describes a dinner party at the house of Trimalchio, a nouveau riche; the guests are almost all of the freedman class, and speak a vulgar Latin which is allied both to that of the inscriptions and to the dialetts which were afterwards to become the romance languages. The following passage (chapters 44, 45) represents the conversation of two of the guests—one a "grower", a laudator temporis acti, and the other something more of an optimist.

"Quod ad me attinet, jam pannos meos comedi,1 et si perseverat haec annona,2 casulas 3 meas vendam. Quid enim futurum est, si nec dii nec homines hujus coloniae 4 miserentur? Ita meos fruniscar,5 ut ego puto omnia illa a diibus 6 fieri: nemo enim caelum caelum putat, nemo jejunium servat, nemo Jovem pili facit,7

¹ Sold or pawned for food.

² Price of victuals. 4 Country-town.

³ Top-coats. ⁵ Profit by, enjoy the company of, my own children. Note the vulgar fruniscor for fruor, and the accusative instead of the classical ablative.

⁶ Vulgar for dis or ds.

⁷ Cares a straw for.

sed omnes opertis oculis bona sua computant. Antea¹ Stolatae² 1bant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Jovem aquam exorabant: itaque statim urceatim 3 plovebat; aut tunc aut nunquam; et omnes redibant udi tanquam mures. Itaque dii pedes lanatos habent, qui nos religiosi non sumus. Agri jacent-"Oro te", inquit Echion centonarius,4" melius loquere. 'Modo sic, modo sic', inquit rusticus; varium porcum perdiderat. Quod hodie non est, cras erit: sic vita truditur. Non mehercules patria melior dici potest, si homines haberet: sed laborat hoc tempore, nec haec sola. Non debemus delicati esse, ubique medius caelus est.7 Tu si aliubi fueris, dices hic porcos coctos ambulare. Et ecce habituri sumus munus excellente 8 in triduo die festa; familia non lanisticia,9 sed plurimi liberti. Et Titus

¹ In old days.

swings, we make up on the roundabouts."

6 That's the way of life (lit. that is how life is pressed on; cf. Horace's "truditur dies die").

The same heaven is over us all. Note caelus for

8 Vulgar neuter for excellens. caelum.

9 i.e. not of the ordinary professional slave class, but manumitted gladiators who had returned to the profession through pure love of it.

² The *stola* was the long ceremonial dress of women.

⁴ The rag-and-bone man. 3 In jugfuls. ⁵ Now one thing, now another. "What we lose on the

noster magnum animum habet et est caldicerebrius 1: aut hoc aut illud erit, quid utique.2 Nam illi domesticus sum, non est mixcix.3 Ferrum 4 optimum daturus est, sine fuga, carnarium in medio, ut amphitheater videat. Et habet unde: relictum est illi sestertium tricenties, decessit illius pater male. Ut quadringenta impendat, non sentiet patrimonium illius, et sempiterno nominabitur."

KEGOLKOOKKOOKKOOKK

3 The history of the pre-Vulgate Latin Bible is still obscure; it is not even certain whether there was one, or more than one, version of what is called the Vetus Latina or the Itala. In any case the latter name is probably misleading, as it is likely that it arose not in Rome, where the early Christians were long a community that spoke mostly Greek or at least understood it, nor even in Italy at all, but in Northern Africa. When St. Jerome came to revise these old texts and produce the standard edition which is now called the Vulgate, he confined himself almost completely to the canonical books: of the Apocrypha he dealt only with Judith and Tobit. This is natural enough, for his in-

² Something good anyhow.

¹ Hot-headed, with a fiery temper.

³ No half-measures about him. ⁴ A fighting show.

terests were rather in the Hebrew text than the Greek, and the Apocrypha exists in a Greek text alone (the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus has only lately been discovered). In consequence, the Apocrypha remains in the Old Latin version which, for the canonical books, we have only in a fragmentary state—a little in manuscripts, and more in quotations in the earliest Latin Fathers. The following passage contains the curious account of the armed elephants in a battle between Judas Maccabaeus and Antiochus Epiphanes (Maccabees I. vi. 33 sqq.).

It would be rash to pronounce with certainty the date of this version, especially perhaps in one of the apocryphal books; but the Bible seems to have been complete in Latin by the end of the second century, and we may fairly take A.D. 200 as an approximate estimate.

Et surrexit rex ante lucem, et concitavit exercitus in impetum contra viam Bethzacharam: et comparaverunt se exercitus in praelium, et tubis cecinerunt: et elephantis ostenderunt sanguinem uvae et mori, ad acuendos eos in praelium. Et diviserunt bestias per legiones: et astiterunt singulis elephantis mille viri in loricis concatenatis, et galeae aereae in capitibus eorum, et quingenti equites ordinati unicuique bestiae electi

¹ Grapes and mulberries. A mysterious passage: the idea is that the elephants were shown some red liquor, which would give them a taste for blood.

erant. Hi ante tempus 1 ubicunque erat bestia, ibi erant: et quocunque ibat, ibant, et non discedebant ab ea. Sed et turres ligneae super eos firmae protegentes super singulas bestias: et super eas machinae: et super singulas viri virtutis triginta duo, qui pugnabant desuper: et intus ² magister bestiae. Et residuum equitatum hinc et inde statuit in duas partes tubis exercitum commovere et perurgere constipatos in legionibus ejus. Et ut refulsit sol in clipeos aureos et aereos, resplenduerunt montes ab eis, et resplenduerunt sicut lampades ignis. Et distincta est pars exercitus regis per montes excelsos, et alia per loca humilia: et ibant caute et ordinate. Et commovebantur omnes inhabitantes terram a voce multitudinis eorum et incessu turbae et collisione armorum; erat enim exercitus magnus valde et fortis. Et appropiavit ³ Judas et exercitus ejus in praelium: et ceci-derunt de exercitu regis sexcenti viri. Et vidit Eleazar filius Saura unam de bestiis loricatam loricis regis, et erat eminens super ceteras bestias,

¹ Beforehand.

² A mistake, properly corrected into *Indus* in the best editions of the Latin Bible. The point is that the *mahout* was an Indian, not that he sat inside the turret or *howdah*.

³ Appropio is regularly found in the Old Latin version where the Vulgate has the more classical appropinquo.

et visum est ei quia in ea esset rex: et dedit se ut liberaret populum suum et acquireret sibi nomen aeternum. Et cucurrit ad eam audacter in medio legionis interficiens a dextris et a sinistris, et cadebant ab eo huc atque illuc. Et ivit sub pedes elephantis et supposuit se ei, et occidit eum: et cecidit in terram super ipsum, et mortuus est illic.

ELEOLLEOLLEOLLE ELLE

4 The famous hymns of St. Ambrose were probably written a little before he was besieged with his people, in the Portian Basilica at Milan, by the troops of the Empress Justina in A.D. 386. One of the most individual is that which he, as discoverer, wrote in honour of the Milanese saints Gervasius and Protasius, celebrating the finding of their bodies on June 19th. St. Augustine was then teaching rhetoric at Milan, and he relates the event in his Sermons, 286, 4: "Celebramus hodierno die, fratres, memoriam in hoc loco positam santtorum Protasii et Gervasii, Mediolanensium martyrum. Non eum diem quo hic posita est, sed eum diem celebramus, quando inventa est pretiosa in conspettu Domini mors santtorum ejus per Ambro-

¹ A change of subject. "The elephant fell upon him, and Eleazar died there."

sium episcopum, hominem Dei, cujus tunc sanctae gloriae martyrum etiam ego testis fui. Ibi eram, Mediolani eram, fatta miracula novi, attestante Deo pretiosis mortibus sanctorum suorum; ut per illa miracula jam non solum in conspectu Domini, sed etiam in conspectu hominum esset mors illa pretiosa. Caecus notissimus universae civitati illuminatus est. Cucurrit, adduci se fecit, sine duce reversus est. Nondum audivimus quod obierit; forte adhuc vivit. In ipsa eorum basilica, ubi sunt eorum corpora, totam vitam serviturum se esse devovit. Nos illum gavisi sumus videntem, reliquimus servientem." The curious may compare the somewhat cynical account of the event given by Gibbon, chapter 27.

The metre of the hymn is iambic dimeter (four iambic feet), scanned according to strictly classical standards: "resolved feet"—a dactyl and an anapaest for an

iambus—are found in lines 4 and 18.

Grates tibi, Jesu, novas Novi repertor muneris Protasio, Gervasio Martyribus inventis cano.

Piae latebant hostiae, Sed non latebat fons¹ sacer: Latere sanguis non potest, Qui clamat ad Deum patrem.

i.e. of blood, as explained in the next line.

Caelo refulgens ¹ gratia Artus revelavit sacros : Nequimus esse martyres, Sed repperimus martyres.

Hic quis requirat testium Voces, ubi factum est fides? Sanatus impos mentium Opus fatetur martyrum.

Caecus recepto lumine Mortis sacrae meritum probat : Severus est nomen viro, Usus minister publici.²

Ut martyrum vestem attigit Et ora tersit nubila, Lumen refulsit illico Fugitque pulsa caecitas.

Soluta turba vinculis Spiris draconum³ libera, Emissa totis urbibus Domum redit cum gratia.

¹ Shining from heaven. A dream led to the discovery.

² An officer of the public service.

^{3 =} daemonum.

Vetusta saecla vidimus,¹ Jactata semicinctia, Tactuque et umbra corporum Aegris salutem redditam.

ELECKICALECKICOKICOKIE

5 Etheria, an Abbess of Galicia in the extreme north-west of Spain, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land towards the end of the fourth century, and on her return journey wrote and sent home from Constantinople an account of her experiences for the benefit of her sister nuns. She travelled outward by way of Constantinople and Antioch, but the account of her travels which remains to us deals with three excursions from Jerusalem, one to Mount Sinai and the route of the Exodus, the second to Mount Nebo in Moab and its neighbouring heights, and the third to Jericho and up the Jordan valley to Mount Tabor. On her homeward journey she made a detour from Antioch to visit Hierapolis and Edessa, and then returned to Constantinople by way of Tarsus. In

¹ The miracles of the early days of the Church, as for instance those recounted in A&s v. 15 and xix. 12.

² There is another theory that her home was more in the direction of Marseilles or Arles, and the date of her journey in the middle of the sixth century. The view explained above is, however, held by the best modern scholars.

addition to the story of her travels, she gives a careful account of the liturgical services as performed at Ferusalem during her visit.

She was a person of considerable social importance, and well educated, with some knowledge of Greek; but wrote in a rather conversational type of Latin, which shows traces of the beginning of the changes which were to result in the romance languages.

The most convenient edition of the Peregrinatio Aetheriae 1 ad loca sancta is that of W. Heraeus, Heidelberg, 1908; English translation, with careful introduction by Mrs. M'Clure and Dr. C. L. Feltoe, London, S.P.C.K. n.d. (1919?).

Etheria has reached the foot of Mount Sinai, and the following passage (iii. 1) relates her ascent.

Nos ergo sabbato sera² ingressi sumus montem, et pervenientes ad monasteria quedam susceperunt nos ibi satis humane monachi qui ibi commorabantur, praebentes nobis omnem humanitatem; nam et ecclesia ibi est cum presbytero. Ibi ergo mansimus in ea nocte, et inde maturius die dominica cum ipso presbytero et monachis, qui ibi commorabantur, cepimus ascendere montes singulos, qui montes cum infinito labore

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¹ Formerly called the *Peregrinatio Silviae* from a wrong identification of the writer with St. Silvia of Aquitaine. ² This word does not agree with *sabbato*, but is the ablative of a late substantive *serā*. The expression means "on Saturday in the evening".

ascenduntur, quoniam non eos subis lente et lente per girum, ut dicimus in cocleas,¹ sed totum ad directum subis ac si per parietem, et ad directum descendi necesse est singulos ipsos montes, donec pervenias ad radicem propriam illius mediani, qui est specialis Syna.

Ac sic ergo jubente Christo Deo nostro adjuta orationibus sanctorum qui comitabantur, et sic cum grandi labore, quia pedibus me ascendere necesse erat, quia prorsus nec in sella ascendi poterat, tamen ipse labor non sentiebatur; ex ea parte autem non sentiebatur labor, quia desiderium, quod habebam, jubente Deo videbam compleri: hora ergo quarta pervenimus in summitatem illam montis Dei sancti Syna, ubi data est lex; in eo id est loco ubi descendit majestas Domini in ea die qua mons fumigabat.

KLEGENEGALEGALE

6 There is curiously little contemporary evidence of the true character and actual events of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain: we are therefore driven to writers whose authority is not always of the best. Of such, one of the most valuable is Gildas² "the

^{1 &}quot;Snail-wise."

² Probably a Roman Briton, who lived in the west of England about 504-570.

Wise", who, in the middle of the sixth century, wrote a pathetic account of the conquest from the British point of view. A certain amount of tolerably reliable information is to be gathered from his writings, although the greater part of his work is devoted to denunciations of his fellow-countrymen, whose wickedness had thus called down the divine wrath upon them, using the pagan invaders as its instruments. Gildas also finds a place for a solid array of legends which confuse without convincing, though in this he is not so great an offender as Nennius, the other British historian of the Conquest: a later writer and in all ways less trustworthy; yet it is to him that we owe our knowledge of Arthur as a real character—no mystical being of Romance, but a prosaic and successful Romano-British general, of much the same kind as that Ambrosius Aurelianus whose exploits are here chronicled, De excidio Britanniae, chap. 25. It will be noticed that Gildas quotes Virgil as well as the Psalms.

Itaque nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehensi jugulabantur: alii fame confecti accedentes manus hostibus dabant in aevum servituri, si tamen non continuo trucidarentur, quod altissimae gratiae stabat loco: alii transmarinas petebant regiones cum ululatu magno ceu celeumatis vice hoc modo sub velorum sinibus cantantes: "Dedisti nos tanquam

oves escarum, et in gentibus dispersisti nos ": alii montanis collibus minacibus praeruptis val-latis et densissimis saltibus marinisque rupibus vitam suspecta semper mente credentes, in patria licet trepidi perstabant. Tempore igitur interveniente aliquanto, cum recessissent domum crudelissimi praedones, roborante Deo reliquiae, quibus confugiunt undique de diversis locis miserrimi cives, tam avide quam apes alvearii procella imminente, simul deprecantes cum toto corde, et, ut dicitur, innumeris onerantes aethera votis, ne ad internicionem usque delerentur, duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto, qui solus forte Romanae gentis tantae tempestatis collisione, occisis in eadem parentibus purpura nimirum indutis, superfuerat, cujus nunc temporibus nostris suboles magnopere avita bonitate degeneravit, vires capessunt, victores provocantes ad proelium: quis victoria, Domino annuente, cessit.

HEORKOOKKOOKKOOKK

7 The notaries of Merovingian—and Carlovingian
—France had forms and precedents to enable them
to draw up the various legal instruments which they
would require in the course of their business. The
following form for a conveyance of land to an Abbey
20

was for use in Anjou in the first half of the sixth century: it is taken from K. Zeumer's "Formulae" (p. 13, no. 27) in Section V. of the Monumenta Germaniae historica, Hanover, 1886.

INCIPIT VINDICIO PROPRIETATE

Domino venerabile et in Christo patri illo 1 abbate ego illi et conjux mea illa. Constat nus vindedissemus, et ita vindedimus vobis terra proprietatis nostre in loco nuncupante illo, et accipi proinde precio de vobis, in quod nobis conplacuit, hoc est in argento soledus tantus, ut quicquid de ipsa terra proprietatis nostrum, que nus bona volumtate vobis venondammus facere volueris, liberam in omnibus habeas potestatem. Et si quis de nus ipsis aut de propinquis nostris vel qualibet extranea persona, qui contra hanc vindicione agere conaverit, inferit inter vobis et fisco, conponere debiat soledus tantus, et quod repetit vindicare non valeat, et haec vindicio perenni tempore firma permaneat, stibulacione subnixa.

¹ N. or M. For the case-endings see note 2 on p. 7.

8 This hymn in the Bangor Antiphonary—it is found nowhere else—is probably of the seventh century, or the very late sixth. It is known by Dr. Neale's translation in England (Hymns Ancient and Modern 313, English Hymnal 307), and is almost certainly of Irish origin. It is a Communio—i.e. a hymn to be sung during the communion of the people; in modern liturgies the Communio is in prose, often a verse of the Psalms. Written in iambic trimeters, mostly accentual but with some metrical element, it is a fine example of the noble, if a little rugged, simplicity of an early date.

Sancti¹ venite, Christi corpus sumite, Sanctum¹ bibentes quo redempti sanguine,²

Salvati Christi corpore et sanguine, A quo refecti laudes dicamus Deo.

Hoc sacramento corporis et sanguinis Omnes exuti ab inferni faucibus.

Dator salutis, Christus filius Dei, Mundum salvavit per crucem et sanguinem.

Pro universis immolatus Dominus Ipse sacerdos exstitit et hostia.

¹ A reminiscence of the liturgical Santta santtus.

² Attracted into the ablative of the relative clause.

Lege praeceptum immolari hostias, Qua adumbrantur divina mysteria.

Lucis indultor et salvator omnium Praeclaram sanctis largitus est gratiam.

Accedant omnes pura mente creduli, Sumant aeternam salutis custodiam.

Sanctorum custos, rector quoque, Dominus Vitae perennis largitor credentibus,

Caelestem panem dat esurientibus, De fonte vivo praebet sitientibus.

Alpha et Ω^1 ipse Christus Dominus Venit, venturus judicare homines.

¹ It is not possible to write omega, as this name for the Greek long \bar{o} was invented much later than the date of this hymn. Nor can it be a monosyllabic long \bar{o} as in the hymn Corde natus (Prudentius, Cathemerinon 9), "Alpha et Ω cognominatus", as a disyllable is required for the metre. Probably we should pronounce $\bar{o}\bar{o}$: the letter ω is formed of oo written twice and coalescing.

9 Among the little Latin of the early Middle Ages which can lay claims to any literary excellence are the writings of the Venerable Bede (673-735). The monk of Jarrow was not merely the father of English history, and a learned scholar with a knowledge of Greek most rare at the time, but also the possessor of a style of all but classical purity: it combined simplicity and vigour, and was almost free from the pompous and often ungrammatical affectations which disfigured the writings of so many of his contemporaries. His work was further characterized throughout by keen intellectual honesty and a desire to be fair to his opponents, here again affording a striking contrast to other authors of his time. There is a famous and touching account of his last hours derived from the letter of one of his disciples, Cuthbert, to another disciple, Cuthwin. Mention may also be made of the story of the monk who, trying to write his epitaph, could get no further than the imperfect line: "Hic sunt in fossa Bedae . . . ossa", and went despairingly to bed, only to find in the morning that angelic hands had finished the unfinishable line by inserting the word "Venerabilis", thus not only making the Leonine verse run smoothly, but fixing once for all on the subject of the line an epithet which became as inseparable from his name as it was appropriate to his character. Apart from the saintliness of his life, his fame is largely derived from his great "Ecclesiastical history of the English nation": he

was an indefatigable author, and wrote many other books, among which especial mention may be made of the De natura rerum, displaying as it does an unusually sound philosophical tendency in the mind of its author. In most matters of scientific knowledge and speculation the early Middle Ages retreated from the positions won by the thinkers of classical times, but here again Bede was an exception, and his work has been described as "an advance, not a retrogression of human knowledge"—faint praise, perhaps, but with a genuine meaning if we think of the sterility of intellect displayed by such a book as the "Etymologies" of St. Isidore. The extract her given is taken from the De temporum ratione, a curious blending of astronomical and historical information. The six ages of the world are described fairly fully down to the reign of Leo the Isaurian, and the present age and the two which are to come are thus summarized.

Sexta, quae nunc agitur, aetas nulla generationum vel temporum serie certa est, sed ut aetas decrepita ipsa totius saeculi morte consummanda. Has aerumnosas plenasque laboribus mundi aetates quicumque felici morte vicerunt, septima jam sabbati perennis aetate suscepti, octavam beatae resurrectionis aetatem, in qua semper cum Domino regnent, expectant.

The book ends with a fuller passage in the same key, part of which (ch. lxxi) runs as follows:

DE SEPTIMA ET OCTAVA AETATE SECULI FUTURI

Et haec est octava illa aetas semper amanda speranda suspiranda fidelibus, quando eorum animas Christus incorruptibilium corporum munere donatas ad perceptionem regni caelestis contemplationemque divinae suae majestatis inducat: non auferens gloriam, quam exutae corporibus a suae quaeque egressionis tempore beata in regina perceperant, sed majore illas gloria etiam corporum redditorum accumulans: in cujus continuatae et non interruptae beatitudinis typum Moyses cum sex illos dies primos, quibus factus est mundus, a luce et mane inchoatos ad vesperam terminatos dixisset; in septimo, quo requievit Deus ab operibus suis, solius mane, non autem et vespere facit mensolius mane, non autem et vespere facit mentionem. Sed cuncta, quae de eo commemoranda putavit, aeternae requiei et benedictionis luce conclusit. Quia sicut et supra meminerimus, cunctae hujus saeculi aetates sex, in quibus justi Domino cooperante bonis operibus insistunt, ita sunt suprema ordinatione dispositae, ut in primordiis suis singulae aliquid laetarum rerum habentes non parvis erumnarum tenebris praessurarumque consummantur. Requies vero animarum, quam pro bonis operibus in futuro saeculo percipiunt, nulla umquam aurae alicujus 26

et Resurrectionis advenerit, gloriosiore perpetuae beatitudinis perfectione complebitur. Conparatur his aetatibus sacratissimum dominicae Passionis Sepulturae et Resurrectionis tempus. Legimus enim scribente evangelista Johanne, quia Jesus ante sex dies paschae venit Bethaniam, ubi devotae mulieris officio Judas offensus prodidit eum sacerdotum principibus. In crastinum autem ipse veniens in asino Hierosolymam cum turba Domino laudes canentium, per continuos v dies insidiosis eorum questionibus appetitus sexta demum die crucifixus est: septima requievit in sepulcro, octava autem, id est, una Sabbati, resurrexit a mortuis. . . . Et nos non solum post septem volubilis hujus saeculi dies, sed etiam post saepe memoratas septem aetates in octava aetate simul et die resurgemus. Quae vitae dies in se quidem ipsa mansit semper, manet et manebit aeterna, sed nobis hinc incipiet, cum ad eam videndam meminerimus intrare, ubi quo actu occupentur Sancti, perfecta spiritus et corporis immortalitate renovati, testatur Psalmista, qui Deo per laudem amoris canit: Beati, qui habitant in domo tua, in saeculum saeculi laudabunt te. Quo visu delectentur, idem consequenter exponit: etenim benedictionem dabit, qui legem dedit, ambulabunt de virtute in virtutem, videbitur Deus deo-

anxietate turbata deficiet, sed ubi tempus Judicii

rum in Sion. Quales ad hanc venire possint, ipse qui est via, veritas, et vita, testatur Dominus: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Ergo noster libellus de volubili ac fluctivago temporum lapsu descriptus oportunum de aeterna stabilitate ac stabili aeternitate habeat finem. Quem rogo si quis lectione dignum rati fuerint, me suis in praecibus Domino commendent, piaque apud Deum et proximos, quantum valent, agant industria, ut post temporales caelestium actionum sudores, aeternam cuncti caelestium praemiorum mereamur accipere palmam.

HECOLLOOLLOOLK

IO In A.D. 589 Authoris, who had been elected king of the Lombards, wished to find a wife: and the circumstances of his wooing of Theodelinda, the daughter of Garibaldo duke of Bavaria, show that the knight-errantry or chivalrous gallantry of the Middle Ages is not now far distant. This account is from the De gestis Langobardorum (iv. 29) of Paulus Diaconus, sometimes called Paul Winfrid or Warnefrid, the latter being his father's name, who was of pure Lombard stock. His ancestors in the fourth generation had settled at Fréjus, and he spent the earlier part of his life there. He was taken to France

by Charlemagne, and later became a monk of Monte Cassino. He died A.D. 799.

Flavius vero rex Authari 1 legatos post haec ad Bajoariam misit, qui Garibaldi corum regis filiam sibi in matrimonium peterent. Quos ille benigne suscipiens, Theudelindam suam filiam Authari se daturum promisit. Qui legati revertentes cum haec Authari nuntiassent, ille per semetipsum suam sponsam videre cupiens, paucis secum sed expeditis ex Langobardis adhibitis, unumque sibi fidelissimum et quasi seniorem secum ducens, sine mora ad Bajoariam perrexit. Qui cum in conspectu Garibaldi regis, juxta morem legatorum, introducti essent, et is qui cum Authari quasi senior venerat, post salutationem verba, ut moris est, intulisset, Authari, cum a nullo illius gentis cognosceretur, ad regem Garibaldum propius accedens, ait: "Dominus meus Authari rex me proprie ob hoc direxit, ut vestram filiam ipsius sponsam, quae nostra domina futura est, debeam conspicere, ut qualis ejus forma sit meo valeam domino certius nuntiare". Cumque rex haec audiens filiam venire jussisset, eamque Authari, ut erat satis eleganti forma, tacito nutu contemplatus esset, eique per omnia satis complacuisset, ait ad regem:

¹ Nominative—or rather *Authari* is treated as an indeclinable substantive.

"Quia talem vestrae filiae personam cernimus, ut eam merito nostram reginam fieri optemus, si placet vestrae potestati, de ejus manu, sicut nobis postea factura est, vini poculum sumere praeoptamus". Cumque rex id fieri debere annuisset, illa, accepto vini poculo, ei prius qui senior esse videbatur propinavit. Deinde cum Authari, quem suum esse sponsum nesciebat, Authari, quem suum esse sponsum nesciebat, porrexisset, ille, postquam bibit ac poculum redderet, ejus manum nemine animadvertente digito tetigit, dexteramque suam sibi a fronte per nasum ac faciem produxit. Illa hoc suae nutrici rubore perfusa nuntiavit: cui nutrix sua ait: "Iste nisi ipse rex et sponsus tuus esset, te omnino tangere non auderet. Sed interim sileamus, ne hoc patri tuo fiat cognitum. Re enim vera digna persona est quae tenere debeat regnum et tuo sociari conjugio." Erat autem tunc Authari invenili aetate floridus. statura decens Authari juvenili aetaté floridus, statura decens, candida crine 1 perfusus, et satis decoro aspectu. Qui mox a rege commeatu accepto, iter patriam reversuri arripiunt, deque Noricorum finibus festinanter abscedunt. . . . Denique post aliquod tempus, cum propter Francorum adventum perturbatio Garibaldo regi advenisset,

¹ There is a variant reading "flava caesarie", which sounds perhaps more in our accordance with the standards of youthful beauty. At any rate Autharis was a fine specimen of the fair-haired Lombard.

Theudelinda ejus filia cum suo germano, nomine Gundoald, ad Italiam confugit, seque adventare Authari sponso nuntiavit. Cui statim ille obviam cum magno apparatu nuptias celebraturus in campo Sardis, qui supra Veronam est, occurrens, eandem cunctis laetantibus in conjugium Idus Maias accepit.

Their married life, though happy, did not last very long; and by the time Authors died, after a reign of six years, the Lombards had become so fond of Theodelinda that they agreed to make king whomever she might choose as her second husband. The manner of signifying her choice of Agilulf is strangely reminiscent of her own courting by Authoris. (Op. cit. ch. 34.)

Reginam Theudelindam, quae satis placebat Langobardis, permiserunt in regia consistere dignitate, suadentes ei ut sibi quem voluisset ex omnibus Langobardis virum eligeret, talem scilicet qui regnum regere utiliter posset. Illa vero consilium cum prudentibus habens, Agilulfum ducem Taurinatium et sibi virum et Langobardorum genti regem elegit. Erat enim isdem vir strenuus et bellicosus, et tam forma quam animo ad regni gubernacula coaptatus. Quem statim regina ad se venire mandavit, ipsaque ei obviam ad Laumellum oppidum properavit. Qui cum ad eam venisset, ipsa sibi post

aliquot verba vinum propinari fecit: quae cum prior bibisset, residuum Agilulfo ad bibendum tribuit. Is cum reginae accepto poculo manum honorabiliter osculatus esset, regina cum rubore subridens non debere sibi manum osculari ait, quem osculum sibi ad os jungere oporteret. Moxque eum ad suum basium erigens, ei de suis nuptiis deque regni dignitate aperuit. Quid plura? Celebrantur cum magna laetitia nuptiae; suscepit Agilulfus, qui erat cognatus regis Authari, inchoante jam mense Novembris, regiam dignitatem. Sed tamen congregatis in unum Langobardis, postea mense Maio ab omnibus in regnum apud Mediolanum levatus est.

KREOKKEOKKEOKKE

II Asser, the friend and biographer of our King Alfred (born 848), was a monk of St. David's. He came to the King's Court about 884; the King wished him to remain with him permanently, but he felt that he had duties at home, and it was arranged that he should spend half of each year with the King and half in Wales. At a later time Alfred bestowed upon him "Exanceastre (Exeter), cum omni parochia quae ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia", and we know from other sources that he was Bishop of Sherborne, which probably then included Devonshire and Cornwall. His life of Alfred, De

rebus gestis Ælfredi, was probably written in 893. The following (chaps. 21-24) is a famous passage about Alfred's education. The best edition is by W. H. Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred, Oxford, 1904.

Aliquantulum, quantum meae cognitioni innotuit, de infantilibus et puerilibus domini mei venerabilis Ælfredi, Angulsaxonum regis, moribus hoc in loco breviter inserendum esse existimo.

Nam, cum communi et ingenti patris sui et matris amore supra omnes fratres suos, immo ab omnibus, nimium diligeretur, et in regio semper curto ¹ inseparabiliter nutriretur, accrescente infantili et puerili aetate, forma ceteris suis fratribus decentior videbatur, vultuque et verbis atque moribus gratiosior. Cui ab incunabulis ante omnia et cum omnibus praesentis vitae studiis, sapientiae desiderium cum nobilitate generis, nobilis mentis ingenium supplevit; sed, proh dolor, indigna suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria usque ad duodecimum aetatis annum, aut eo amplius, illiteratus permansit. Sed Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor, relatu aliorum saepissime

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¹ Court. The word (a term more Frankish than English) is more usually third declension, curtis, than second declension, curtum.

audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat. In omni venatoria arte industrius venator laborat non in vanum; nam incomparabilis omnibus peritia et felicitate in illa arte, sicut et in ceteris omnibus Dei donis fuit, sicut et nos saepissime vidimus.

Cum ergo quodam die mater sua sibi et fratribus suis quendam Saxonicum poematicae artis librum, quem in manu habebat, ostenderet, ait: "Quisquis vestrum discere citius istum codicem possit, dabo illi illum". Qua voce, immo divina inspiratione instinctus, et pulchritudine principalis litterae i illius libri illectus, ita matri respondens, et fratres suos, quamvis non gratia, seniores anticipans, inquit: "Verene dabis istum librum uni ex nobis, scilicet illi qui citissime intelligere et recitare eum ante te possit?" Ad haec illa arridens et gaudens atque affirmans: "Dabo", infit, "illi". Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua magistrum adiit, et legit 2: quo lecto, matri retulit et recitavit.

¹ The illuminated initial on the first page.

² An awkward change of subject. The master read out the book, and Alfred got its contents by heart as he read, and then went to his mother and repeated them.

12 The following charming poem has several times been published—best by L. Traube, in the Abhandlungen of the Munich Academy, xix. p. 301: it is of the tenth century, probably by a native of Verona, and contains a good deal of classical learning.

O admirabile Veneris ydolum, Cujus materiae nichil est frivolum; Archos ¹ te protegat, qui stellas et polum Fecit, et maria condidit et solum. Furis ingenio non sentias dolum: Cloto te diligat, quae bajulat colum.

Saluto puerum non per ypothesim, Sed firmo pectore deprecor Lachesim, Sororem Atropos, ne curet heresim. Neptunum comitem habeas et Thetim Cum vectus fueris per fluvium Athesim.² Quo fugis amabo, cum te dilexerim? Miser quid faciam, cum te non viderim?

Dura materies ex matris ossibus Creavit homines jactis lapidibus: ³ Ex quibus unus est iste puerulus, Qui lacrimabiles non curat gemitus. Cum tristis fuero, gaudebit emulus: Ut cerva rugio, cum fugit hinnulus.

¹ The Almighty—a word adapted from late Greek.

² The river Adige or Etsch.

³ A reference to the story of Pyrrha and Deucalion.

I 3 Liutprand (c. 920–972), Bishop of Cremona, was a Lombard by birth, and a diplomatist as well as an ecclesiastic by profession. He is one of the most important authorities for the history of Rome in the tenth century, and he was sent more than once as ambassador of the Emperors Berengar II. and Otto I. to Constantinople; he has left us a careful piture of his experiences there. He was well read in Latin literature, and had some knowledge of the Greek language, which he takes pains to display in his writings. The following extract (Antapodosis, ii. 47 sq.) describes the extraordinary period when Christian Rome was under the domination of women, Theodora and Marozia, who could vie with the most abandoned of the heathen Empresses.

Quo tempore venerandae Romane sedis summum Johannes Ravennas pontificatum tenebat. Hic autem tam nefario scelere contra jus fasque pontificii culmen ita obtinuit.¹

Theodora scortum impudens, . . . quod dictu etiam fedissimum est, Romane civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat. (Quae duas habuit natas, Marotiam atque Theodoram, sibi non solum coequales, verum etiam Veneris exercitio promptiores. Harum Marotia ex papa Sergio,² cujus supra fecimus mentionem, Johan-

¹ 15th May 914.

nem,1 qui post Johannis 2 Ravennatis obitum Romanae aecclesiae obtinuit dignitatem, nefario genuit adulterio 3; ex Alberico autem marchione Albericum, qui nostro post tempore ejusdem Romane urbis principatum sibi usurpavit.4) Per idem tempus Ravennate sedis, secundus qui post Romanam archierean archipraesulatus habebatur, Petrus pontificatum regebat. Qui dum subiectionis offitio debitae jam nominatum Johannem papam, qui suae minister ecclesiae tunc temporis habebatur, Romam sepius et iterum domno dirigeret apostolico, Theodora, ut testatus sum, meretrix satis impudentissima, Veneris calore succensa, in hujus spetiei decorem vehementer exarsit, seque hunc scortari solum non voluit, verum post etiam atque etiam compulit. Hec dum impudenter aguntur, Bononiensis aeclesiae episcopus moritur, et Johannes

¹ John XI., elected March 931.

³ The truth of this accusation is by no means certain; some make John XI. the fruit of her lawful union with

her husband Alberic.

² John X. But not immediately after; Leo VI. reigned from July 928 to February 929, and Stephen VII. from February 929 to March 931.

⁴ He conducted a successful rebellion against Hugh of Provence, and ruled the city for twenty-two years, leaving his kingdom to his son Octavian, who united the civil and ecclesiastical power under the title of John XII. in November 955; for a specimen of whose Latin see p. 44.

iste loco ejus eligitur. Paulo post ante hujus diem consecrationis nominatus Ravennas archipraesul mortem obiit, locumque ejus Johannes hic, Theodore instinctu, priori Bononiense deserta aeclesia, ambitionis spiritu inflatus, contra sanctorum instituta patrum sibi usurpavit. Romam quippe adveniens, mox Ravennatae ecclesiae ordinatur episcopus. Modica 1 vero temporis intercapedine, Deo vocante, et qui eum injuste ordinaverat papa ² defunctus est. Theodorae autem glycerii ³ mens perversa, ne amasii sui ducentorum miliariorum interpositione, quibus Ravenna sequestratur Roma, rarissimo concubitu potiretur, Ravennate hunc archipraesulatum coegit deserere, Romanumque, pro nefas, summum pontificium usurpare. Hocigitur sanctorum apostolorum taliter vicario constituto, Poeni, 4 ut praefatus sum, Beneventum Romanasque urbes misere laniabant.

³ I think Liutprand uses this word as simply = scorti, from the character Glycerium in Terence's Andria.

¹ And yet from the chronicles it appears that he was archbishop of Ravenna 905-914. Would the passion of Theodora have brooked so long a delay? Or did he, for part of the time at least, reside at Rome?

² Laudo.

⁴ The Saracens, who occupied a strong fortress on the Garigliano, thus securing their own southern conquests and enabling them to harass the territory of St. Peter and the dukedoms beyond their own borders.

KECOKKOOKKOOKK

I4 Liutprand's pittures of life in Constantinople are of the greatest value, as the records of Western travellers of this time are exceedingly rare. He hated the Emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, who put every slight on the envoy of Otto, with whom he was greatly annoyed for his occupation of the Roman provinces; and the pitture he draws of him (Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana, 3 sqq.) is the reverse of flattering.

Septimo autem Idus,¹ ipso videlicet sancto die Pentecostes, in domo quae dicitur $\Sigma_{\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{a}\nu a}$, id est Coronaria, ante Nicephorum sum deductus, hominem satis monstruosum, pygmaeum, capite pinguem atque oculorum parvitate talpinum, barba curta lata spissa et semicana foedatum, cervice digitali turpatum, prolixitate et densitate comarum hyopam,² colore Aethiopem, cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem, ventre extensum, natibus siccum, coxis ad mensuram ipsam brevem longissimum, cruribus parvum, calcaneis pedibusque aequalem, villino ³ sed nimis veternoso vel diuturnitate ipsa foetido et

¹ 7th June 968. ² Pig-faced. ³ I am doubtful of the rendering of this word. In Pertz's edition it is explained "byssino", but the more natural meaning would be "of cloth".

pallido ornamento indutum, Sicioniis calceamentis calceatum, lingua procacem, ingenio vulpem, perjurio seu mendacio Ulyxem. Semper mihi domini mei imperatores augusti formosi, quanto hinc formosiores visi estis? Semper ornati, quanto hinc potentiores? Semper mites, quanto hinc mitiores? Semper virtutibus pleni, quanto hinc pleniores? Sedebant ad sinistram, non in eadem linea, sed longe deorsum, duo parvuli imperatores,² ejus quondam domini, nunc subiecti. . . .

A long discussion followed between the Emperor and the envoy, in which Nicephorus used insulting language both of Liutprand and of his masters, while Liutprand did his best to defend the actions of Otto and what must be admitted to be his cruel treatment of the rebellious city of Rome.

"Secunda", inquit Nicephorus, "hora jam transiit; προέλευσις (id est processio) nobis est celebranda. Quod nunc instat agamus. Contra haec, cum oportunum fuerit, respondebimus." Non pigeat me προέλευσιν ipsam describere et dominos meos audire. Negotiatorum multi-

¹ Otto and Adelheid.

² Basil and Constantine, sons of Romanus II. Nicephorus married their mother Theophano, and their sister, also called Theophano, was finally married to Otto II. This was indeed the object of Liutprand's mission.

tudo copiosa ignobiliumque personarum ea sol-lempnitate collecta ad susceptionem et laudem Nicephori, a palatio usque ad sanctam Sophiam, quasi pro muris, viae margines tenuit, clypeolis tenuibus satis et spiculis vilibus dedecorata. Accessit et ad dedecoris hujus augmentum, quod vulgi ipsius potior pars ad laudem ipsius nudis processerat pedibus: credo sic eos putasse sanctam ipsam potius exornate προέλευσιν. Sed et optimates sui, qui cum ipso per plebeiam et discalceatam multitudinem ipsam transierant, magnis et nimia vetustate rimatis tunicis erant induti: satis decentius cotidiana veste induti procederent; nullus est cujus atavus hanc novam haberet. Nemo ibi auro, nemo gemmis ornatus erat nisi ipse solus Nicephorus, quem imperialia ornamenta, ad majorum personas sumpta et composita, foediorem reddiderant. Per salutem vestram, quae mihi me[a] carior extat, una vestrorum pretiosa vestis procerum centum horum et eo amplius pretiosior est! Ductus ego ad προέλευσιν ipsam, in eminentiori loco iuxta psaltas (id est cantores) sum constitutus.

Cumque quasi reptans monstrum illud procederet, clamabant adulatores psaltae: "Ecce venit stella matutina, surgit Eous, reverberat obtutu solis radios, pallida Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus $\mu \acute{e} \delta \omega \nu$ (id est princeps)!" Unde et

cantabatur: "Médouti (id est principi) $\pi o \lambda \lambda \lambda$ ětη (id est plures anni sint)! Gentes hunc adorate, hunc colite, huic tanto colla subdite!" Quanto tunc verius canerent: "Carbo exstincte veni, $\mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon$ anus incessu, Sylvanus¹ vultu, rustice, lustrivage, capripes, cornute, bimembris, setiger, indocilis, agrestis, barbare, dure, villose, rebellis, Cappadox!" Igitur falsidicis illis inflatus naeniis sanctam Sophiam ingreditur, dominis suis imperatoribus se a longe sequentibus et in pacis osculo ad terram usque adorantibus.

KLOOKKOOKKOOKKOOKK

I5 Liutprand (Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis magni imperatoris, ch. 11) gives the text of the summons to John XII. (see p. 37) by the Council [A.D. 960] called by the Emperor to put an end to the scandals of his pontificate: and of the Pope's not too grammatical reply.²

Summo Pontifici, et universali Papae Domno Johanni, Otto divinae respectu clementiae Im-

² See Dean Milman's Latin Christianity, vol. iii. p. 311, or Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* (tr. Hamilton), vol. iii. p. 346.

¹ A satyr: to which most of the following epithets could be applied. *bimembris* means "with the limbs both of man and beast".

perator Augustus, cum Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Liguriae, Tusciae, Saxoniae, Franciae, in Domino. Romam ob servitium Dei venientes, dum filios vestros, Romanos scilicet Episcopos, Cardinales, presbyteros et diacones, insuper et universam plebem de vestra absentia percontaremur, et quid causae esset, quod nos aeclesiae vestrae vestrique defensores videre noluissetis, talia de vobis tamque obscena protulerunt, ut si de histrionibus dicerentur, verecundiam nobis ingererent. Quae ne magnitudinem vestram omnia lateant, quaedam vobis sub brevitate describimus: quoniam et si cuncta nominatim ex-primere cupimus, dies nobis non sufficit unus. Noveritis itaque, non a paucis, sed ab omnibus tam nostri quam alterius ordinis vos homicidii, perjurii, sacrilegii, et ex propria cognatione atque ex duabus sororibus incesti crimine esse accusatos. Dicunt et aliud auditu ipso horridum, diaboli vos in amorem vinum bibisse: in ludo aleae Jovis, Veneris, ceterorumque demonum auxilium poposcisse. Oramus itaque paternitatem vestram obnixe, ne Romam venire atque ex his omnibus vos purgare dissimuletis. Si forte vim temerariae multitudinis formidatis, juramento vobis adfirmamus, nihil fieri praeter sanctorum canonum sanctionem. Data viii. idus Novembris.

Hanc epistolam cum legisset, hujusmodi apologeticum scripsit:—Johannes Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, omnibus Episcopis. Nos audivimus, quia vos vultis alium Papam facere: si hoc facitis, excommunico vos de Deum omnipotentem, ut non habeatis licentiam nullum ordinare, et Missam celebrare.

KECOKKOOKKOOKKOOKE

16 A medieval poem that has become very famous in modern days is the De contemptu mundi of Bernard, variously called "of Morlaix" and "of Cluny". The author was certainly a monk at Cluny when Peter the Venerable was Abbot (1122-1155), but his origin is most uncertain: the epithet by which he is ordinarily called is found spelt Morlanensis, Morvallensis, and Morlacensis. These would attribute to him respectively, as places of origin, Morlaas near Pau, Morval in the Jura, not far from Cluny itself, and Morlaix in Brittany: it has also been suggested that one of the forms may mean "of Murles", not far from Montpellier. The question is not yet settled, and the author has been confused at different times with other Bernards of Cluny, and even with the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux himself. His poem became known to the modern religious world by the translation of part of it—a cento—by 44

the late Dr. J. M. Neale; and several portions of Dr. Neale's translation have entered the hymn-books of most religious bodies. The most famous section is that which now forms the well-known hymn "Jerusalem the golden", though others too, such as "Brief life is here our portion" and "The world is

very evil", are also familiar.

The poem is divided into three books, and is of great length: it is also remarkable for the extreme difficulty 1 of the metre in which it is written, containing an elaborate internal rhyme within each line, as well as another at the end of each pair of hexameters. The most accessible edition is to be found in Thomas Wright's The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century, vol. ii. (Rolls Series-London, 1872); and a bibliography and translation have lately been published in a work named The Source of "Jerusalem the Golden", by Samuel Macauley Jackson and H. Preble, University of Chicago Press, 1910. The following passage is taken from a part of the poem which Dr. Neale did not translate, and is remarkable for its classical learning: its theme is "Where are the snows of yester-year?"—a recapitulation of the great ones of the earth that have now perished. The passage may be found on p. 36 of Wright's edition, U. 859 following of the first of the three books.

¹ So difficult, that Bernard claims that he could never have written a poem of this length in it unless he were divinely inspired!

45

Mors via maxima, mors patet ultima linea 1 rerum;

Quo pede testea ² calcat et aurea, nil sibi serum³: Imminet omnibus—hinc famulantibus, inde

tyrannis ;

Irruit ocius, unica totius est via carnis.⁴
Socrate doctior, Hercule fortior a triduana
Febre resolvitur; indeque noscitur omnia
vana.

Vanaque vivere vanaque currere sole sub isto; Omnia perspice denique codice ⁵ scito magistro . . .

Quid tibi roboris? illius Hectoris, illius ossa, Quae minus eminet,⁶ unica continet arctaque fossa.

Quid tibi grammatis? Arida Socratis ossa tenentur;

Vox animae Plato, justitiae Cato pulvis haben-

¹ Horace, Epistles, i. 16. 79.

² i.e. the cheap and expensive, poor and rich alike.

3 A difficult expression. Presumably "nothing is too

late for death "-i.e. death outlasts all.

6 "Within the churchyard, side by side, Lie many long low graves."

⁴ The letter r is habitually neglected in the rhyme: of. isto and magistro three lines below. Is this the first appearance of the expression "the way of all flesh"? The sacred text—the "vanity of vanities: all is vanity" of the preacher.

Quid tibi faminis? illa Demosthenis¹ et Ciceronis

Lingua peraruit; aura superfluit artis et oris.

Quid tibi sanguinis est vel originis? et Fabiorum

Stirps ruit ardua, turbaque mortua fluxit eorum. Te decor extulit, Absolon; abstulit ultio duplex²;

Faex caro lactea redditur, aurea caesaries faex... Est ubi gloria nunc Babylonia? nunc ubi dirus Nabugodonosor? et Darii³ vigor? illeque Cyrus?...

Nunc ubi curia pompaque Julia? Caesar, obisti;

Te truculentior, orbe potentior ipse fuisti . . . Cum genero sene brachia non bene conseruisti; Non socer illius aut socius pius esse tulisti:

Qui cinis es modo, tantus eras homo quantus et orbis,

Et 4 tibi subditus extitit ambitus urbis et orbis. . . .

Nunc ubi Marius ⁵ atque Fabricius ⁵ inscius auri?

¹ Dēmosthenes in classical Latin.

² i.e. because he was both hung and transfixed by a dart.

³ Dārīus in classical Latin.

⁴ MSS. an: if this is kept a question-mark must be put at the end of the line.

Mărius and Fabricius in classical Latin.

Mors ubi nobilis et memorabilis actio Pauli 1? Diva Philippica vox ubi caelica nunc Ciceronis? Pax ubi civibus atque rebellibus ira Catonis? Nunc ubi Regulus? aut ubi Romulus? aut ubi Remus 2?

Stat rosa pristina nomine, nomina nuda tenemus.

KAKOOKAOOAKOOKAOOAK

I7 The following Prosa de duodecim lapidibus pretiosis in fundamento caelestis civitatis positis, a symbolical and metaphorical explanation of Revelation xxi. 19, 20, is a fair specimen of twelfth-century poetry. It is undoubtedly of French origin, but its author is not known; it has been attributed without due reason both to St. Anselm and to Marbodius of Angers (1035–1123), Bishop of Rennes. The manuscript authorities are given in Hauréau, Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale, i. (Paris, 1890), p. 76.

Cives caelestis patriae, Regi regum concinnite Qui supremus est artifex

Civitatis uranicae,³ In cujus aedificio Talis extat fundatio.

¹ Aemilius Paulus, not the Apostle.

² Rĕmus in classical Latin.

³ The scheme of rhymes is elsewhere strictly preserved, 48

Jaspis, coloris viridis,¹
Praefert virorem fidei
Quae in perfectioribus
Nunquam marcescit penitus;
Cujus forti praesidio
Resistitur diabolo.

Saphirus habet speciem Caelesti throno similem; Designat cor simplicium Spe certa praestolantium, Quorum vita et moribus Delectatur Altissimus.

Calcedonius pallentem Ignis habet effigiem; Subrutilat in publico, Fulgorem dat in nubilo; Virtutem fert fidelium Occulte famulantium.

Smaragdus, virens nimium, Dat lumen oleaginum; Est fides integerrima, Ad omne bonum patula, Quae nunquam scit deficere A pietatis opere.

Sardonix, constans tricolor, Homo fertur interior Quem denigrat humilitas, Per quem albescit castitas; Ad honestatis cumulum Rubet quoque martyrium.

Sardius est puniceus, Cujus color sanguineus Decus ostentat martyrum Rite agonisantium. Sextus est in catalogo; Crucis haeret mysterio.

Auricolor chrysolitus Scintillat velut clibanus. Praetendit mores hominum Perfecte sapientium, Qui septiformis gratiae Sacro splendescunt jubare.

and I think the poet may possibly have written uranicae civitatie, which would not be unmetrical in the French pronunciation of Latin (see p. 126). artifex would be pronounced artifes, and something approaching a rhyme would thus be achieved.

¹ Perhaps originally *colore viridi*, which will give the required rhyme.

Berillus est lymphaticus, Ut sol in aqua limpidus: Figurat vota mentium Ingenio sagacium, Queis magis libet mysticum Summae quietis otium.

Topazius quo rarior Ob id est pretiosior; Nitore rubet chryseo Et aspectu aetherio. Contemplativae solitum Vitae monstrat officium.

Chrysoprasus purpureum Imitatur conchylium; Est intertinctus aureis Quodam miscello guttulis. Haec est perfecta caritas Quam nulla sternit feritas.

Jacinthus est caeruleus, Virore medioximus, Cujus decora facies Mutatur ut temperies. Vitam signat angelicam Discretione praeditam. Amethystus praecipuus, Colore violaceus, Flammas emittit aureas Scintillasque purpureas. Praetendit cor humilium, Christo commorientium.

Hi pretiosi lapides Carnales signant homines; Colorum est varietas Virtutum multiplicitas. His quicumque floruerit Concivis esse poterit.

Jerusalem pacifera, Haec tibi sunt fundamenta. Felix et Deo proxima, Quae te meretur anima, Custos tuarum turrium, Non dormit in perpetuum.

Concede nobis, agie Rex civitatis caelicae, Post cursum vitae labilis, Consortium in superis. Inter sanctorum agmina Cantemus tibi cantica!

Amen!

18 Walter Mapes, or Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, wrote a very remarkable book, De Nugis Curialium, worthily re-edited by Dr.M. R. James, Oxford, 1914. It has also now been translated into English by Professors Tupper and Ogle, of Vermont. In it he tells many stories, supernatural and historical, of Wales and the Welsh border. He hated St. Bernard and the Cistercians, and thought well of Arnold of Brescia. The book was written about 1195–1200. Dist. 1. cap. xxiv.

Aderam in mensa beato Thome tunc archiepiscopo Cantuarie; assidebant ipsi abbates albi¹
duo, multa referentes viri praedicti (Barnardi
scilicet) miracula, sumentes exordium inde quod
ibi legebatur epistola Barnardi de condemnatione magistri Petri,² principis Nominalium,
qui plus peccavit in dialetica quam in divina
pagina; nam in hac cum corde suo disseruit, in
illa contra cor laboravit, et multos in eosdem
labores induxit. Legebatur epistola dompni
Barnardi Clarevalensis abbatis ad Eugenium
papam, qui suus fuerat monachus, quem illius
ordinis nemo secutus est ad sedem illam. In
epistola continebatur illa, quod ³ magister

¹ Cistercians. ² Abelard.

³ The actual words of the letter were (Bern. Ep. clxxxix): "Procedit Golias procero corpore nobili illo suo bellico apparatu circummunitus, antecedente quoque ejus armi-

Petrus instar Golie superbus esset, Ernaldus de Brixa signifer ejus, et in hunc modum pessimum plurima. Hinc occasione sumpta laudabant abbates illum Barnardum, et extollebant ad astra. Johannes ergo Planeta de magistro bono quod nolebat et dolebat audiens, "Unum", inquit, " in monte Pessulano vidi quod multi mirabantur miraculum"; et rogatus ut diceret, ait, "Illi quem merito predicatis magnifico viro demoniacus quidam ligatus in monte Pessulano presentatus est ut sanaret eum; ipse super asinam magnam sedens imperavit immundo spiritui, populo qui supervenerat tenente silencium, et ait tandem 'Solvite vinclum, et sinite liberum'. Demoniacus autem, cum se dimissum sensit, lapides in ipsum abbatem quocunque potuit misit, instanter fugientem persequens per vicos donec licuit, etiam et a populo captus in ipsum semper oculos habebat, quia manus tenebantur." Displicuit autem hoc verbum archipresuli, et ait Johanni quasi comminans "Heccine sunt miracula tua?" Tum Johannes, "Certe miraculum dignum memoria dicebant hoc qui tunc affuerunt, quod omnibus mitis et benivolus fuit arrepticius, et ypocrite soli moles-

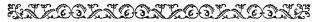
gero Arnaldo de Brixia". Golias (see p. 55) is the rascally clerk, a braggart, and fonder of women and wine than his profession should warrant, with whom however we are allowed to feel a little sympathy.

tus, et adhuc id mihi presumpcionis castigacio fuit"... Publicatum est autem quod eidem predicto Barnardo, post hunc gracie defectum, contigerit secundus, et famam ejus non secundans. Gualterus comes Nemuriensis in Chartusia decessit, ibique sepultus est. Convolavit igitur dompnus Barnardus ad sepulcrum illud, et cum diutissime prostratus orasset, oravit eum prior ut pranderet, erat enim hora. Cui Barnardus, "Non recedam hinc, donec mihi loquatur frater Galterus": et exclamavit voce magna, dicens, "Galtere, veni foras". Galterus autem, quia non audivit vocem Ihesu, non habuit aures Lazari, et non venit.

Quia superius Ernaldus de Brixa se nostris intulit sermonibus, dicatur si placet quis fuerit, sicut audivimus a viro temporis illius, viro quidem magnifico multarumque literarum, Roberto de Burneham. Hic Ernaldus ab Eugenio papa post Abaielardum incitatus, indefensus, et absens condempnatus est, non ex scripto sed ex predicacione. Secundum sanguinis altitudinem erat Ernaldus nobilis et magnus, secundum literas maximus, secundum religionem primus, nichil sibi victus aut vestis indulgens nisi quod artissima cogebat necessitas. Circuibat predicans, non que sua sed que Dei sunt querens, et factus est omnibus amabilis et admirabilis. Hic cum Romam venisset,

venerati sunt Romani doctrinam ejus. Pervenit tandem ad curiam, et vidit mensas cardinalium vasis aureis et argenteis honustas et delicias in epulis: coram domino papa reprehendit eos modeste, sed moleste tulerunt, et ejecerunt eum foras; qui rediens ad urbem, indéfesse docere cepit. Conveniebant ad eum cives, et libenter eum audiebant. Factum est autem ut audirent eum de contemptu premiorum et mammone sermonem fecisse cardinalium in aures presente domino papa predictum Ernaldum, et ipsum a cardinalibus ejectum. Congregati sunt ad curiam, et jurgati contra dominum papam et cardinales, dicentes Ernaldum virum bonum et justum, et ipsos avaros, injustos, et malos, et qui non essent lux mundi sed fex, et in hunc modum, et vix continuerunt manus. tumultu vix pacificato, missis ad imperatorem 1 legatis, dominus papa denunciavit Ernaldum excommunicatum et hereticum, et non recesserunt nuncii donec ipsum suspendi fecerunt.

¹ One of the few occasions in the Middle Ages when the Pope and the Emperor acted together was their alliance to put an end to Arnold of Brescia. His name is still well known in Italy, and it is not very long since an election was won on the cry, "Viva Arnoldo da Brescia ed il Papa non Rè".



IQ The poems attributed to Walter Mapes, or Map, cannot with any certainty be ascribed to the genial Archdeacon of Oxford. They seem to form part of a " Corpus" of Goliardic poetry, which is found widely distributed throughout England and Europe, and are no doubt of the early thirteenth century. They are to be found in Thomas Wright's Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes, and Political Songs of England, Camden Society, 1841 and 1839, and scattered about in such periodicals as the Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum. It is high time that they were re-edited. Considerable classical knowledge is shown in them. For instance, in the Apocalypsis Goliae the narrator sees Pythagoras in a vision, who wraps him away to some distant or heavenly land. There (Apoc. Goliae, 1. 33)-

Dum miror, dubius quae sint haec agmina, Per frontes singulas traducens lumina, Vidi quorumlibet inscripta nomina Tanquam in silice vel plumbi lamina.

Hic Priscianus est dans palmis verbera, Est Aristoteles verberans aera, Verborum Tullius demulcet aspera, Fert Ptolemaeus se totum in sidera.

Tractat Boetius numerabilia, Metitur Euclides locorum spacia, Frequens Pythagoras ¹ circa fabrilia Trahit a malleis vocum primordia.

Lucanum video ducem bellantium, Formantem aereas muscas Virgilium,² Pascentem fabulis turbas Ovidium, Nudantem satyros dicaces Persium.

Incomparabilis est status Statio, Cujus delinuit res comparatio, Saltat Terentius, plebeius histrio, Agrestes Hippocras³ potat absinthio.

There is also another passage (Metamorphosis Goliae, 161) in which heathen deities, pagan philosophers and poets, and medieval philosophers are all mentioned in some confusion.

Nexibus Cupidinis Psyche detinetur; Mars Nerinae de conjugis ignibus torretur; Janus ab Argyone disjungi veretur; Sol a prole Pronoes diligi meretur. . . .

¹ The pagan equivalent of the Biblical Jubal, "the father of all such as handle the harp or organ", who was supposed to have invented music from hearing the sounds of a smithy, perhaps that of his half-brother Tubal-Cain.

Virgil in the Middle Ages was more magician than poet. See Comparetti.
 Aulus Gellius, xiii. 22.
 Martianus Capella, i. 4.

Aderant Philosophi, Thales udus stabat: Crisippus,¹ cum numeris Zeno ponderabat; Ardebat Eraclius,² Perdix ³ circinabat; Totus ille Samius ⁴ proportionabat.

Implicabat Cicero, explicabat Plato; Hinc dissuadet Appius, hinc persuadet Cato; Vacuum Archesilas tenuit pro rato, Esse quod inceperat undique locato.

Secum suam duxerat Cetam Ysopullus,⁸
Cynthiam Propertius, Deliam Tibullus,
Tullius Terentiam, Lesbiam Catullus;
Vates huc convenerat sine sua nullus.

Quaeque suo suus est ardor et favilla; Plinium Calpurniae ⁹ succendit scintilla, Urit Apuleium sua Pudentilla: Hunc et hunc amplexibus tenet haec et illa....

¹ Wright read *Crispinus*, the stoic of Horace's *Satires*, i. 3, etc.

² Heraclitus.

The inventor of the compass. Servius in Virg. Georg. i. 143.

4 Pythagoras.

⁵ Appius Claudius Caecus (?), who dissuaded the Romans from making peace with Pyrrhus.

⁶ Cato Grammaticus, whose pseudepigraphic *Moralia* were most popular in the Middle Ages.

⁷ The founder of the Middle Academy. ⁸ Aesop.

⁹ The second wife of the younger Pliny.

- Ibi doctor cernitur ille Carnotensis,¹
 Cujus lingua vehemens truncat velut ensis;
 Et hic praesul praesulum stat Pictaviensis²
 Prius et nubentium miles et castrensis....
- Celebrem theologum vidimus Lumbardum, Cum Yvone Helyam Petrum ³ et Bernardum, ⁴ Quorum opobalsamum spirat os et nardum, Et professi plurimi sunt Abaielardum.

The venal state of the city and court of Rome is one of the most constant complaints of this class of poets (Golias in Romanam Curiam, 33).

- Nummis in hac curia non est qui non vacet; Crux ⁵ placet, rotunditas, et albedo placet, Et cum totum placeat, et Romanis placet, Ubi nummus loquitur, et lex omnis tacet. . . .
- Cum ad papam veneris, habe pro constanti Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti; Vel si manus praestitum non est aliquanti, Respondet "Haec tibia non est mihi tanti".

Papa, si rem tangimus, nomen habet a re, Quicquid habent alii, solus vult papare;

¹ Ivo of Chartres.

² Peter of Poitiers, disciple of Peter Lombard.

³ Peter Elias, eleventh-century grammarian.

⁴ Of Clairvaux.

⁵ On the "tail" of the coin, like our florins.

Vel, si verbum Gallicum vis apocopare, "Payez," dit le mot, si vis impetrare.

Papa quaerit, chartula ¹ quaerit, bulla quaerit, Porta quaerit, cardinalis quaerit, cursor quaerit,

Omnes quaerunt: et si quod des uni deerit, Totum mare salsum est, tota causa perit.

Das istis, das aliis, addis dona datis, Et cum satis dederis, quaerunt ultra satis. O vos bursae turgidae, Romam veniatis: Romae viget physica bursis constipatis.

The extracts from the Goliardic poems may be closed with the amusing epigram, Golias de equo pontificis.

Pontificalis equus est quodam lumine caecus, Segnis et antiquus, morsor, percussor iniquus; Nequam propter equam, nullamque viam tenet aequam,

Cespitat in plano, nec surgit poplite sano. Si non percuteret de vertice saepe capistrum, Et si portaret passu meliore magistrum, Nil in eo possemus equo reperire sinistrum.

¹ Chartula, bulla, the clerks in the various chanceries. Porta, cursor, the underlings of the Papal Court.



20 A thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale—MS. Latin No. 13,586—contains a collection of sermons entitled Sermones magistri Gaufridi Trecensis. Nothing is known of this Geoffrey of Troyes, though from the number of copies of some of the sermons found in other manuscripts he must have been a popular preacher of the twelfth century. The following is the first part of one of them, which elaborates in an interesting way the story of the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears. Text in Hauréau, Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1891), vol. ii. p. 301.

Serpentem esse aiunt, non curo utrum aspis an alio nomine vocetur, cujus in capite coalescit lapis pretiosus carbunculus, quem ex hoc dracontidem appellant. Hic in cavernis et abditis cuniculis ¹ delitescit, ne gemma qua fronte insignitur spoliari possit. Naturaliter vero mulcedine cantus trahitur, ut a specu suo, velit nolit, extrahatur. Porro indigenae, cum lustra bestiae deprehendunt, cum tympanis et cytharis et diverso genere musicorum eo conveniunt, ex latibulo suo eam abducturi. Quae, dulcem melodiam musicorum audiens, ad os speluncae illico progreditur. Illi vero pedetentim recedentes,

¹ Rabbit-holes.

ex industria et se et sonum elongant ut levius audiatur, serpens nihilominus sequatur abeuntes; cumque longius a cuniculo suo ductus ad publicum, parati sunt a tergo eum occupantes et cum reti hujusmodi venationi congruo eum operiunt, lapidem tollunt, et vivam abire bestiam permittunt ut iterum renascatur gemma quam tollere debeant. Quae cum processu temporis coaluerit redintegrata, eam incolae comperiunt, nam ex nocturno fulgore quem emittit in modum faculae potest deprehendi. Rursus insidias concinnant veteres, et econtra draco novas invenit fraudes; verens enim pretium perdere, et sonum audire quem non potest non sequi cum audierit, declinatur in latus et, alteram aurium terrae conjungens, alteram cauda obturat, ne fallacia qua prius melodiae etiam nolens abducatur. Rei veritatem non procaciter defendo; sed, sive in his quae de cervo seu de serpente audierim et scripserim non tam verum ita sit, quae quomodo nobis conveniant inquiro. Dicit ipse Dominus: Estote prudentes sicut serpentes. . . .

KROOKSOOKSOOKE

2.I The parish of Sonning was a peculiar of Salisbury Cathedral: i.e. it was not visited by the archbishop,

bishop, or archdeacon, but by the Dean of Salisbury. The following 1 is the account of the visitation in 1222.2

W.3 decanus invenit plures sacerdotes ministrantes in parochia sua de Sunning, quorum nullus fuit vel sibi vel alicui de suis presentatus. Requisitum fuit ab illis per quos et sub quibus ministrabant, quod non poterant ad decanum accedere, quia longe ab eis agebant, et petierunt quod modo possint ipsi suos capellanos presentare, et capellani obedientiam et fidelitatem jurare. Decanus annuit, dummodo hoc fieret sub probatione et ordinis et literature.

Vitalis, presbiter, vicarius perpetuus de Sunning, presentavit capellanum quem secum habet, nomine Simonem, quem modo retinuit usque ad festum S. Michaelis. Requisitus idem Simon de suis ordinibus, dicit quod apud Oxoniam recepit ordinem subdiaconi a quodam episcopo Ybernie, Albino nomine, tunc vicario episcopi Lincolniensis. Item ab eo recepit ordinem diaconi. Item ordinem presbiteratus ab Hugone modo Lincolniensi episcopo, transactis quatuor

¹ Register of St. Osmund (Rolls Series), i. p. 304; W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions* (Alcuin Club Collections, xiv.), i. p. 108.

² Feria sexta proxima ante festum beati Martini = Friday, 4th November.

³ William of Wanda, Dean of Salisbury 1220-1236.

annis. Probatus fuit de evangelio dominice prime in Adventu, et inventus est minus habens, nec intelligens quod legeret. Item probatus fuit de canone missae, Te igitur, clementissime Pater,1 etc. Nescivit cujus casus esset Te, nec a qua parte regeretur. Et cum dictum esset ei, ut diligenter inspiceret que pars posset competentius regere Te, dixit quod Pater, quia omnia regit. Requisitus quid esset clementissime, vel cujus casus, vel qualiter declinaretur, nescivit. Requisitus quid esset *clemens*, nescivit. Item, idem Simon nullam differentiam antiphonarum novit, nec cantum ympnorum nec eciam de illo *Notte surgentes* ²: nec aliquid scivit de officio divino ³ vel psalterio cordetenus, memoriter scilicet. Dixit eciam quod indecens ei videbatur quod probaretur coram decano, cum jam esset ordinatus. Requisitus super quo fuisset quando ordinem presbiteratus accepit, dicit quod non meminit. Sufficienter illiteratus est.

Of the other six chaplains one was approved; one refused to reply, and was suspended; and the other four were found unable to answer questions or sing.

^½ The office hymn for Mattins in the Breviary.

³ The Breviary.

¹ The opening words of the Canon of the Mass: "Therefore, O most merciful Father, we most humbly pray and beseech thee . . ."

Preceptum est Vitali ut bonos capellanos inveniat et ibi et apud Sunning, vel decanus capiet beneficia in manus suas.



2.2 The Carmina Burana form a collection of students' songs (carmina clericorum) and other pieces, mostly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the best edition is that of J.A. Schmeller, Breslau, 1883. Some are pretty love-poems:

Juvenes amoriferi,
Virgines amplexamini!
Ludos incitat
Avium concentus.
O vireat, O floreat, O gaudeat
In tempore juventus!

Some celebrate the praises of wine and of the table:

Alte clamat Epicurus: Venter satur est securus. Venter deus meus erit, Talem deum gula querit, Cujus templum est coquina, In qua redolent divina.

A few have a distinctly satirical purpose, being directed against the abuses of the Court of Rome. Of such a kind is the following parody of the liturgical 64

gospel, which is a most ingenious cento of biblical passages. On this and similar jeux d'esprit see Paul Lehmann's most entertaining book, Die Parodie im Mittelalter, Munich, 1922.

XXI.—EVANGELIUM

Initium sancti evangelii secundum Marcas argenti. In illo tempore: dixit Papa Romanis: Cum venerit filius hominis ad sedem majestatis nostrę, primum dicite: Amice, ad quid venisti? At ille si perseveraverit pulsans nil dans vobis, ejicite eum in tenebras exteriores. Factum est autem, ut quidam pauper clericus veniret ad curiam domini Pape, et clamavit dicens: Miseremini mei saltem vos, hostiarii Pape, quia manus paupertatis tetigit me. Ego vero egenus et pauper sum; ideo peto, ut subveniatis cala-mitati et miserie mee. Illi autem audientes indignati sunt valde et dixerunt : Amice, paupertas tua tecum sit in perditione; vade retro Sathanas, quia non sapis ea que sapiunt nummi. Amen amen dico tibi: non intrabis in gaudium domini tui, donec dederis novissimum quadrantem.

Pauper vero abiit et vendidit pallium et tunicam et universa que habuit, et dedit cardinalibus et hostiariis et camerariis. At illi dixerunt: Et hoc quid est inter tantos? Et ejecerunt eum

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ante fores, et egressus foras flevit amare et non habens consolationem. Postea venit ad curiam quidam clericus dives incrassatus, inpinguatus, dilatatus, qui propter seditionem fecerat homicidium. Hic primo dedit hostiario, secundo camerario, tertio cardinalibus. At illi arbitrati sunt inter eos, quod essent plus accepturi. Audiens autem dominus Papa cardinales et ministros plurima dona a clerico accepisse, infirmatus est usque ad mortem. Dives vero misit sibi electuarium aureum et argenteum, et statim sanatus est. Tunc dominus Papa ad se vocavit cardinales et ministros et dixit eis: Fratres, videte ne aliquis vos seducat inanibus verbis. Exemplum enim do vobis, ut quemadmodum ego capio, ita et vos capiatis.

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23 An early example of the story of the man who sold his soul to the devil—afterwards so well known to us in the legend of Dr. Faustus—is found in an anonymous collection of anecdotes, intended for incorporation in sermons, in a thirteenth-century manuscript at Paris—Hauréau, Notices et extraits, etc. (Paris, 1891), vol. ii. p. 326.

Nota quod quidam erat qui non credebat habere animam et animo peccabat, et qui saepius dice-66

bat rationem illis cum quibus famulabatur; et dum quadam die diceret cum quodam fideli et sapiente, corripiebat illum ne amplius talia diceret quae non erant verba Christiani boni, sed male credentis; ille e contrario magis affirmabat nihil esse animam post mortem: et sapiens dicebat animam suam plus valere quam totum mundum, pro qua Dominus Jesus mortuus fuerat. Et ille: "Si tantum valet, compara eam; faciam tibi ex ea bonum forum 1". Cui ille: "Pro quotis dabis mihi?"—"Pro quinque solidis et decem denariis ad bibendum."—"Et ego libenter tibi dabo tantum." Et dum biberent vinum de foro, miser convocabat omnes transeuntes ut venirent bibere de mirabili et stulto foro. Inter multos affuit unus, qui habebat comam crispatam et capellum de rosis in capite et optime et pulcre erat indutus, qui dicit bibentibus : "De quo foro est vinum quod bibitis tam laete?" Cui ille qui emerat animam: "De anima istius, quam emi quinque solidis et duodecim denariis ad bibendum." Cui ille: "Vis mihi vendere?" Cui ille: "Libenter."—" Dabo tibi quadruplum." Et, foro facto et hausto vino, petiit animam illius; et cum ille nollet aliquid facere quia nihil erat, indicatum fuit ei quod esset servus ejus et, cum ille duceret illum quem emerat secum extra vil-¹ A bargain.

lam, videntibus multis qui hoc viderunt, intravit in quamdam foveam, et tam cito terra cooperti de cetero non apparuerunt. Unde multi dixerunt quod emptor fuit diabolus, qui se multotiens transfigurat, ut possit homines decipere et defraudare.

HECOEKCOKKOOKKOOKH

24 It is sometimes hard to distinguish between the monuments of declining antiquity and those of the early Renaissance. Scholars are not yet agreed whether the following pretty little poem is of late imperial days or a medieval Italian production: it is in its rhythm not unlike No. 12, O admirabile Veneris ydolum. The text here printed is, with one or two variations, that reached by V. Ussani, Studî Italiani di filologia classica, x. p. 168: the usual references are Burmann's Anth. Lat. iii. 219, Wernsdorf, P.L.M. ii. pp. 390 and 453 (who attributed it to Valerius (ato!), Meyer's edition of the Anth. Lat. 989, and Riese's, p. xli.

GALLUS POETA CLARISSIMUS 1

Lydia, bella puella candida, Quae bene superas lac et lilium

¹ al. In Jocis Galli poetae.

Album, quae ¹ simul rosam rubidam Aut expolitum ebur Indicum, Pande, puella, pande capillulos Flavos, lucentes ut aurum nitidum; Pande, puella, collum candidum Productum bene candidis humeris: Pande, puella, stellatos oculos Flexaque super nigra cilia; Pande, puella, genas roseas Perfusas rubro purpuriae Tyriae; Porrige labia, labra corallina 2; Da columbarum ³ mitia basia: Sugis amantis partem animi; Cor mi penetrant haec tua basia: Quid mi sugis vivum sanguinem? Conde papillas, conde semipomas,4 Compresso lacte quae modo pullulant— Sinus expansus profert cinnama, Undique surgunt ex te deliciae— Conde papillas, quae me saucias 5 Candore et luxu nivei pectoris. Saeva,6 non cernis quod ego langueo ?? Sic me destituis jam semimortuum?

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¹ al. Albamque.
² al. corallia.
³ al. columbatim—the adverb columbulatim occurs in classical Latin.
⁴ al. gemipomas.
⁵ al. sauciant.
⁶ al. scaeva.
⁷ Cf. the well-known refrain of medieval love-songs, quia amore langueo. (See p. 108.)

KROOKKOOKKOOKKOOKK

25 It is in England alone that Rolls of Fair Courts or "Courts of Pie Powder" are to be found, of which the following extracts from the St. Ives Fair Courts Rolls are taken: all records of such jurisdiction on the Continent seem to have disappeared, if indeed they ever existed. But in England we have much valuable evidence, such as that furnished by the St. Ives Rolls I from 1270 to 1324; this fair was held in accordance with a charter granted to the Abbot of Ramsey by Henry I. in 1110, and confirmed and enlarged by subsequent sovereigns.

The term "Pie Powder" may either refer to the rapidity with which justice was administered (i.e. before the dust could be removed from the litigants' feet), or to the fact that it was primarily used by wandering pedlars; we have a twelfth-century Scottish reference to the "Extraneus mercator vel aliquis transiens per regnum non habens certam mansionem infra vicecomitatum, sed vagans, qui vocatur Pie-

powdrous, hoc est anglice dustifute".

Curia die Sabbati (24th April 1288)

Johannes filius Johannis de Eltysle queritur de Rogero le Barber quod injuste fregit ei conven-

¹ Extracts from these have been printed in Dr. Gross's Selden Society volume, Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant.

cionem, et ideo injuste quod cum idem Johannes fuerat in villa de Rames' die Lunae prox' post Epiphaniam Domini ultimam praeteritam i fuit unus annus elapsus in domo Thomae Bull, ibi venit dictus Rogerus et manucepit sanare capud ipsius Johannis de glabra 2 pro novem denariis, quos idem Johannes solvit praemanibus.3 Adveniente die Martis prefatus Rogerus posuit ei emplastrum et die Mercurii similiter et postea recessit de villa, et quod ab illo die usque nunc nichil se voluit intromittere ad dampnum ipsius Johannis dimidia merce. Et ducit sectam.⁴ Predictus Rogerus presens defendit etc. et posuit se ad legem et inveniendo plegios legis recessit de barra sine licencia. Ideo predictus Johannes peciit judicium de ipso tamquam de convicto. Quare consideratum est quod dictus Rogerus satisfaciat dicto Johanni de ix d. de principali et de dampnis suis quae condonantur et pro transgressione in misericordia 5 vj d.

CURIA DIE LUNE PROX' POST INVENTIONEM SANCTE CRUCIS (7th May 1291)

Margareta uxor Radulfi Bercarii queritur de Rogero de Ponte Frigido 6 et de Beatrice uxore

¹ 13th January 1287.

² Baldness.

³ In advance.
⁴ His suit in court.
⁵ The "mercy" means that he was fined sixpence.

⁶ Pontefract.

sua: plegius de prosequendo Johannes Jamot; plegius defendencium corpora eorum. Et predicta Margareta dicit quod predicti Rogerus et Beatrix infideliter et malo modo die Jovis in septimana Pasche ultimo praeterita elongaverunt et asportaverunt unum par de sotularibus 1 extra domum prefate Margarete, de quibus sotularibus adhuc inventi sunt segsiti.² Et prefati Rogerus et Beatrix defendunt etc. set dicunt quod ipsos sotulares fideliter emerunt in foro pro ij d. ob. Et quod hoc verum sit ponunt se in Deo et in juratis de bono et malo. Qui veniunt et dicunt per sacramentum suum quod dicti Rogerus et Beatrix predictos sotulares non eme-runt set ipsos extra domum prefate Margarete, ut dictum est superius, asportaverunt. Et quia dicti sotulares sunt parvi precii pro quo precio nullus amittat vitam vel membrum, consideratum est quod dicti Rogerus et Beatrix deliberent ³ villam S. Yvonis ne amplius de cetero redeant ibidem.

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26 It is well known that the daily Hours, of which the real origin was doubtless the Psalmist's "Seven times a day will I praise thee", were represented as

¹ Shoes.

² Seized.

3 Ouit.

symbolical of the seven stages of our Saviour's passion: Dr. Neale's lines supply a satisfactory memoria technica of the connexion:

At Matins bound, at Prime reviled, condemned to death at Tierce,

Nailed to the cross at Sext, at None Hu blessed side they pierce:

They take him down at Vesper-tide, in grave at Compline lay, Who thenceforth bids His Church observe her sevenfold hours alway.

The following hymn, interesting from being in Goliardic metre, which was more often reserved for lighter subjects, is found in the Sarum Primer in the "Hours of the Eternal Wisdom": it probably dates from the early fourteenth century. It deals with the same symbolism in a rather more elaborate manner.

AD MATUTINAS

Patris sapientia, veritas divina, Deus Homo captus est hora matutina, A notis discipulis cito derelictus, A Judaeis venditus, traditus, afflictus.

AD PRIMAM

Hora prima ductus est Jesus ad Pilatum; Falsis testimoniis multum accusatum, In collo percutiunt manibus ligatum; Vultum Dei conspuunt lumen caeli gratum.

AD TERTIAM

"Crucifige", clamitant hora tertiarum; Illusus induitur veste purpurarum: Caput ejus pungitur corona spinarum; Crucem portat humeris ad locum poenarum.

AD SEXTAM

Hora sexta Jesus est cruci conclavatus, Atque cum latronibus pendens deputatus; Prae tormentis sitiens felle saturatus, Agnus crimen diluit sic ludificatus.

AD NONAM

Hora nona Dominus Jesus expiravit; "Heli" clamans animam Patri commendavit; Latus ejus lancea miles perforavit, Terra tunc contremuit et sol obscuravit.

AD VESPERAS

De cruce deponitur hora vespertina, Fortitudo latuit in mente divina; Talem mortem subiit vitae medicina, Heu, corona gloriae jacuit supina.

AD COMPLETORIUM

Hora completorii datur sepulturae Corpus Christi nobile, spes vitae futurae; Conditur aromate; complentur scripturae: Jugi sit memoria mors haec mihi curae.



27 John Duns Scotus, a north-countryman who lived 1265-1308, joined the Franciscans early in life, and taught at Merton College, Oxford: he went to Paris early in the fourteenth century, and there took his Doctor's degree. He was the greatest of the "realists" among the scholastic philosophers, the chief opponent of the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas, and perhaps the acutest critical mind of the Middle Ages, though less strong on the constructive side. The following extract from his Opus in librum quartum Sententiarum (i.e. the Sentences of Peter Lombard), dist. 50 ad fin. (c. 1300), is a fair specimen of the scholastic method on a point which has amused later moralists: the opposite arguments, from St. Gregory and the Master of the Sentences, may be found by the curious in W. E. H. Lecky's History of European Morals, chap. iv.

UTRUM BEATI VIDEANT POENAS DAMNATORUM

Videtur quod non. Quia si viderent aliquid, esset eis ratio videndi: sed nihil potest esse ratio videndi eis, quia non essentia divina; quia ipsa non repraesentat omnia ut distincta; quia ipsa est indeterminata ad omnes creaturas, nec proprietas personalis; quia illa non est com-

munis tribus, nec alius respectus ad exempla; quia ille non potest esse cognitus nisi prius sint cognita extrema: ergo cum nihil aliud sit in divinis nisi aliquid illorum, et per illa non cognoscunt, ergo non possunt cognoscere. Praeterea. Nihil cognoscitur nisi quod habet ideam in Deo: poena autem est quoddam malum: ergo non habet in Deo ideam: ergo, etc. Praeterea. Si vident poenas damnatorum, vel volunt ea vel nolunt. Si volunt, ergo videntur crudeles. Si nolunt et non possunt sublevare, ergo cadit in eis tristitia, quod est inconveniens: ergo, etc. Contra; Gregorius in dialogo, et ponit Magister in littera.

KALOOKAOOAKOOKAOOAK

28 Didactic or gnomic poetry is very common in the Middle Ages; much of it founded on Publilius Syrus, the pseudo-Cato, and the Octo auctores morales. Most of it is in hexameters, with or without rhymes, and it is so comparatively rare in a lyric poem that it is worth while quoting the following lines from the MS. Latin No. 15,155 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The text is given in Hauréau, Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1892, vol. iv. p. 314. They are probably of the fourteenth century, and their author is unknown.

Ampulla vitrea
Sub mole saxea
Cito confringitur;
Et per convicia
Impatientia
Bene perpenditur.

Ovis in frigore
Posito vellere,
Leniter moritur;
Et si post studium
Succedit otium,
Labor amittitur.

Si desit stimulus, Non vadit asinus Pressus pigritia; Cedat correptio, Semper in otio Est pueritia. Post mortem socii
Non nubit alii
Turtur, sed moritur;
Sic amicitia,
Fida per omnia,
Nunquam dissolvitur.

Si tuba canitur,
Cervus revertitur,
Exspectans catulos;
Quae mors est animae,
Laus vera minime
Delectat populos.

Stridor hirundinum
Quietem hominum
Turbat et somnium;
Stulta loquacitas,
Si frenum adimas,
Turbat collegium.

Mus leve capitur Quod semper utitur Uno refugio; Leve decipitur Qui semper utitur Uno consilio.

Qui pomum viride Carpit improvide Maturum negligit; Carebit praemio Pro beneficio Qui laudes diligit. Sic pullos alios
Nutrit ut proprios
Columbae bonitas;
Congaudet prosperis,
Condolet asperis
Proximi caritas.

Quisquis ad citharam Instruit asinam Hostis est fidium¹; Qui stulto praedicat Hic sibi vindicat Risum et taedium.

Sabulum seminat
Fur, ut aes audiat
Quod nequit cernere;
Et per convicia
Mordet invidia
Quos nequit laedere.

Si furem redimis Et mortem adimis Acquiris odium; Et si servieris Quem nequam noveris Non dabit praemium.

Volens evadere, Non timet scindere Castor ² virilia; Nec timet tollere Fluxum a corpore Quaerens caelestia.

Vespa panniculis Fit api similis, Sed non mellifera; Sic foris fertilis Sed intus sterilis Omnis hypocrita.

Si panem sedulo Dederis catulo, Te semper sequitur; Sic fur stultissimi Leniter proximi Domum ingreditur.

¹ The strings.

² The beaver, in medieval legend, bites off the part of its body sought by the hunters and leaves it behind, in order to escape with its life.

29 This poem occurs in a MS. in my possession, dated 1418. It is also found, with a few variants, in a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, and is printed in Edelstand Du Méril's Poésies latines du moyen âge, who justly remarks that it shows more classical feeling than most poems of its time, and in Philologus, xxiii. 545, by Moritz Schmidt. This, like No. 24, is difficult to date. I had printed it here thinking that it was of the early Renaissance, but I am told that it is more probably of the eleventh century, and perhaps even earlier. In that case the wealth and accuracy of its classical learning is the more remarkable.

Incipiunt lamentationes Oedipodis Thebarum Regis

Diri patris infausta pignora, ante ortus damnati tempora,

Quia vestra sic jacent corpora, mea dolent introrsus pectora.

Fessus luctu, confectus senio, gressu tremens labente venio,

Quam sinistro natus sim genio, nullo capi potest ingenio.

Cur fluxerunt a viro semina, ex quibus me concepit femina?

Infernalis me regni numina produxerunt in vitae lumina.

Si me nunquam vidisset oculus, hic in pace vixisset populus:

Si clausisset haec membra tumulus, hic malo-

rum non esset cumulus.

O in quanto dolore senui, animam hanc plus justo tenui:

Viri fortes et bello strenui, quam nefanda nocte vos genui!

Ab antiqua rerum congerie, dum pugnarent rudes materiae,

Fuit moles hujus miseriae ordinata fatorum serie.

Cum infelix me pater genuit, Tisiphone non illud renuit;

Alimenta dum mater praebuit, ferrum mihi parasse debuit.

Incestavi matris cubilia, vibrans ferrum per patris ilia:

Quis hominum inter tot milia perpetravit unquam similia?

Turpis fama Thebani germinis mundi sonat diffusa terminis:

Quaterfidi terrarum liminis tangit metas nox ¹ nostri criminis.

¹ vox in the version printed in *Philologus*; probably rightly.

- Infami me reum luxuria infernalis foedavit furia; Si me odit deorum 1 curia, confiteor hoc non est injuria.
- Me oderunt revera superi, patentibus hoc signis comperi:
- Umbram sontem istius miseri abhorrebunt etiam inferi.
- Scelus meum dat famae pabula, dum 2 me sonat per orbem fabula:
- In patenti locatum specula hoc feretur crimen per saecula.
- Solacio leventur ceteri: consolator, me solum praeteri!
- Necesse est me luctu deteri. O utinam nil possem fieri!
- Nomen meum transcendit Gargara; me Rhodope, me norunt Ismara:
- De me Syrtis miratur barbara; meum scelus abhorrent Tartara.
- Si pudore carerent aspera, minus esset sors nostra misera:
- Sed pudenda Thebarum scelera mare clamat, tellus, et sidera.3

8т

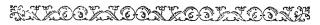
¹ si deorum (MS. siderorum) me odit curia *Philol*.

² de Philal.

³ The order of this stanza and the next are changed in two of the MSS. G

- O quam male servastis, filii, constitutas vices exilii:
- Caro nitens ad instar lilii,¹ quid de vobis sumam consilii?
- Quod dolore nondum deficio ex ignoto procedit vicio:
- Gravi demum pressus exitio, mortis horam jam solam sitio.
- Cordis mei vulnus aperui, quando ego mihi oculos erui,
- Supplicium passus ergo quod merui, jure ego meum regnum deserui.
- Parentelae oblitus celebris, in cisternae me clausi latebris;
- Instar agens neniae funebris in maerore vixi ac tenebris.
- Ibi digne indulgens domui, meum virus in vos evomui:
- Velut gladium linguam exacui, imprecansque vobis non tacui.
- Quod petebat vox detestabilis, ira complet deorum stabilis:
- Cruciatus est ineffabilis quem patimur gens miserabilis.

¹ It seems clear from the whole poem, as well as from this line, that Oedipus is standing over the dead bodies of Eteocles and Polynices.



30 King Henry VI., after his death in 1471, was regarded in some parts of England, especially in Yorkshire, as a Saint, and Offices in his honour are found in some of the liturgical books. His formal canonization was suggested at Rome, but never went through; I believe it is to be raised anew by English Roman Catholics. This hymn, which exists in a manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is still sung at Prayers in College at Eton, the school of his foundation.

Rex Henricus, sis amicus Nobis in angustia; Cujus prece nos a nece Salvemur perpetua.

Lampas morum, spes aegrorum, Ferens medicamina, Sis tuorum famulorum Ductor ad caelestia.

Pax in terra: non sit guerra Orbis per confinia: Virtus crescat, et fervescat Caritas per omnia.

Non sudore vel dolore Moriamur subito: Sed vivamus et plaudamus Caelis sine termino. 3 I Of the following anonymous epigrams, the first (early fifteenth century) is a memoria technica of the seven liberal arts. The other two are much later; the second gives the reasons for a drink, the third refers to the custom, descended from classical times, of drinking the beloved's health in as many glasses as there are letters in her name. This dates from the period when the Authorized Version was familiar: in the Vulgate the names of Job's daughters are quite different.

Gram loquitur, Dia vera docet, Rhet verba colorat,

Mus canit, Ar numerat, Geo ponderat, As colit astra.

Si bene commemini, sunt causae quinque bibendi:

Hospitis adventus; praesens sitis, atque futura; Aut vini bonitas; aut quaelibet altera causa.

Quinque Kezia et sex cyathis Jemima bibatur; Ebrius es, si quis te Keren-Happuc amat.

RECOKNOCINGONKS

32 A good number of the following stories from the Facetiae of Poggio and Bebel satirize the ignorance

¹ Dialectica.

and sometimes the vice of the medieval clergy. It must not be assumed from this that either of the writers was what would now be termed an anticlerical, and indeed a certain flippancy when dealing with sacred things is often a mark of a kind of devotion. Fanet Ross, in her very entertaining book of reminiscences, The Fourth Generation, relates a story of two Egyptian fellaheen. One asked: "If Allah were to die, who would bury him?" His friend answered: "O thou of small understanding, how canst thou talk so foolishly—like a child? Of course, the angels would bury him." To which the first replied: "O thou of little faith and no knowledge, thou talkest wildly. Will not our Prophet, who is sharper than any monkey, bury him?" Yet this story implies no lack of Mussulman orthodoxy in either of the peasants or in the donkey-boy, Hassan, who related it to Mrs. Ross.

Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), a papal secretary, is famous as a humanist and an enthusiastic searcher for the lost works of classical authors: he carried off such manuscripts as he could get from private and monastic libraries, and those which he could not remove he either copied with his own hand or had reproduced by trustworthy scribes. In his lighter moments he composed the book of Facetiae, from which the first portion of the following stories are taken; some were inventions, some actual occurrences, some were the floating stories of the ages, such as are now told by

commercial travellers to one another in the bars of hotels, which he wrote down.

Heinrich Bebel (1472–1518), though he lived a generation later, may in this matter be considered Poggio's German counterpart. A Swabian born, he was at twenty-five a Professor at Tübingen, where he wrote on the great deeds of German history and the principles of Latin versification, though he knew so little Greek that he was obliged to write to Reuchlin to ask him if eleison was a word of three or four syllables. His Facetiae give as good a picture of low life in Germany, especially in the small towns and villages, as Poggio's of provincial Italy.

Poggii Facetiae, London, 1798

p. 22. Quadragesima extemporalis

Aellum oppidum est in nostris Apennini montibus admodum rusticanum: in eo habitabat sacerdos rudior et indoctior incolis. Huic cum ignota essent tempora annique varietates, nequaquam indixit quadragesimam populo suo. Venit hic ad Terram Novam, ad mercatum¹ sublatum ante solemnitatem palmarum, conspectisque sacerdotibus olivarum ramos ac palmulas in diem sequentem parantibus, admirans quidnam id sibi vellet, cognovit tunc erratum suum, et quadragesimam nulla observatione

¹ Fair, market.

suorum transisse. Reversus in oppidum et ipse ramos palmasque in posterum diem paravit : qui, advocata plebecula, "Hodie", inquit, "est dies, qua rami olivarum palmarumque dari ex consuetudine debent : octava die Pascha erit ; hac tantum hebdomada agenda est paenitentia, neque longius habemus hoc anno jejunium; cujus rei causam hanc cognoscite. Carnisprivium hoc anno fuit lentum ac tardum, quia propter frigora et difficultatem itinerum hos montes nequivit superare, ideoque quadragesima adeo tardo ac fesso gradu accessit, ut jam nil amplius quam hebdomadam unam secum ferat, reliquis in via relictis. Hoc ergo modico tempore, quo vobiscum mansura est, confitemini et paenitentiam agite omnes."

p. 24. CRUCIFIXUS VIVUS

Ex hoc quidem oppido missi sunt quidam Aretium ad emendum ligneum Crucifixum, qui in eorum Ecclesia poneretur: deducti ad hujusmodi rerum opificem quendam, cum rudes et veluti stipites essent, opifex risus materiam auditis hominibus quaerens, vivumne an mortuum Crucifixum vellent, postulavit. Illi, sumpto paulo temporis ad consultandum, secreto collocuti demum responderunt se vivum malle; nam si eo modo suo populo non placeret, se illum evestigio occisuros.

p. 45. CANIS TESTAMENTUM

Erat sacerdos in Tuscia quidam rusticanus, sed admodum opulentus. Hic caniculum sibi carum, cum mortuus esset, sepelivit in cimiterio. Sensit hoc episcopus, et, in ejus pecuniam animum intendens, sacerdotem veluti maximi criminis reum ad se puniendum vocat. Sacerdos, qui animum episcopi satis noverat, quinquaginta aureos secum deferens ad episcopum devenit; qui sepulturam canis graviter accusans, jussit ad carceres sacerdotem duci. Hic vir sagax, "O pater", inquit, "si nosceres qua prudentia caniculus fuit, non mirareris si sepulturam inter homines meruit; fuit enim plus quam ingenio humano, tum in vita, tum praecipue in morte". "Quidnam hoc est?" ait episcopus. "Testamentum", inquit sacerdos, "in fine vitae condens, sciensque egestatem tuam, tibi quinquaginta aureos ex testamento reliquit, quos mecum tuli." Tum episcopus et testamentum et sepulturam comprobans, accepta pecunia, sacerdotem absolvit.

p. 129. JOCUS DANTIS

Dantes, poeta noster, cum exul Senis esset, et aliquando in Ecclesia Minorum, cubito super altare posito, cogitabundus aliquid secretius scrutaretur animo, accessit ad eum quidam, 88

nescio quid molestius petens. Tum Dantes, "Dic mihi", inquit, "quae est maxima omnium beluarum?" At ille, "Elephas", respondit. Cui Dantes: "O elephas, sine me", inquit, "majora verbis tuis cogitantem, et noli esse molestus".

p. 207. VENETUS JUDEX

Causa quaedam testamentaria tractabatur Venetiis apud judices in certa curia saeculari. Aderant advocati partium, quisque sui clientis jus defendens; alter et sacerdos testem suae defensionis attulit Clementinam et Novellam, certam sententiam earum referens. Tum ex judicibus grandaevus quidam, cui ea nomina ignota erant, truci vultu in advocatum versus, "Quid, diabole, tu", inquit, "non erubescis coram talibus viris feminas impudicas et meretriculas nominare, earum verba pro sententiis a nobis comprobari putans?" Existimavit vir ille stolidus Clementinae et Novellae non legum, sed feminarum nomina esse, quas ille pro concubinis haberet domi.

p. 208. ASINUS D. CHRISTOPHORO MAJOR Praedicator ad populum in festo Sancti Christophori multis verbis extollebat Sanctum, quod Christum suis humeris portasset, saepius interrogans, ecquis tantam habuisset in terris praerogativam, ut Salvatorem ferret? Et cum molestius in hac interrogatione perseveraret, quis unquam simili fuisset gratia, ex astantibus facetus quidam frequenti interrogatione pertesus, "Asinus", inquit, "qui filium et matrem portavit".

р. 214. Vотим

Cum essem in Anglia, audivi facetum dictum cujusdam magistri onerariae navis, qui erat Hiberniculus. Jactabatur magnis in mari fluctibus navis, et tempestate quassabatur adeo ut salutem omnes desperarent. Magister, si salva navis evaderet tempestatem, cuidam ecclesiae Dei Genitricis Virginis Mariae, quae ante ob similia miracula insignis erat, vovit candelam ceream instar mali navis. Tum socius cum votum culparet ut difficillimum factu, cum in tota Anglia tantum cerae non esse affirmaret ut talis candela posset confici, "Obtace", inquit magister, "et quantumlibet Matri Dei pollicear, dummodo periculum evadamus, sine. Nam si salvabimur, candela parvi nummuli contenta erit".

p. 222. Sacerdotii virtus

Episcopus Hispanus iter faciens die Veneris ad hospitium divertit, missoque servo qui pisces emeret, non reperiri eos venales, sed duas perdices patrono retulit. Ille eas emi et simul coqui, ac in mensam deferri jussit. Admiratus 90 servus, qui emptas eas pro die dominico crederet, quaesivitab episcopo num eas esset esurus, cum tali die carnes essent prohibitae. Tum episcopus, "Pro piscibus", inquit, "utar". Multo id magis admiranti responsum: "An nescis" ait "me sacerdotem esse? Quid est majus, ex pane Corpus Christi facere, an ex perdicibus pisces?" Factoque crucis signo, cum eas in pisces verti imperasset, pro piscibus usus est.

p. 258. SACERDOTIS IGNORANTIA

Socius quidam in festo Epiphaniae narravit mihi stultitiam ridiculam sacerdotis contribulis ¹ sui. "Sacerdos fuit", inquit, "qui populo nuntians Epiphaniae celebritatem futuram: 'Cras,' ait, 'summa devotione veneremini Epiphaniam, maximum enim et praecipuum festum: nescio autem vir fuerit an femina; sed quidquid extiterit, a nobis est summo timore hic dies custodiendus'."

Facetiae Bebelianae, Amsterdam, 1651

p. 67. HISTORIA DE JUDAEO

Duces Saxoniae habebant Judaeum multarum rerum experientia insignem, quem ob eam rem multa benevolentia prosequebantur, summisque conatibus studebant avocare a Judaeorum incredulitate, atque ut Christianus fieret multis ¹ Fellow-townsman.

precibus adhortabantur. Judaeus tandem illorum precibus paulisper motus dixit se prius Romam profecturum, ubi Christianae fidei principem et mores ejus cognosceret; post deliberaturum. Atque Romam profectus, et mores Romanae urbis expertus, ad Principem cum rediret, dixit se velle Christianum fieri, atque ideo, quoniam tam depravati mores sint, ac adeo omnia flagitiis et turpitudini obnoxia, ut nisi singulari veri Dei auxilio protegeremur Christiani, et nisi tam Deum appropinquantem haberemus, nobis nullo pacto res et fides consistere posset.

p. 81. DE QUODAM ADVOCATO

Quidam advocatus post multas causas, in quibus victor evasit, monachus factus est, et cum in negotiis monasterii praepositus multis in causis succubuisset, interrogatus est ab abbate cur omnino in causis agendis mutatus esset. Respondit ille: "Non audeo mentiri ut ante; ideo amitto causas".

p. 81. DE DISPENSATIONE

Albertus Magnus Suevus, omnium recte philosophantium princeps, cuidam canonico Coloniam Agrippinam cum dispensatione a Curia cum pluribus beneficiis redeunti dixit: "Potuisti prius ire ad inferos sine licentia, nunc ibis illuc cum dispensatione".

p. 99. DE SACERDOTE ITALICO

Conveni sacerdotem quendam Italicum in Oeniponte,¹ qui erat cum exulibus Mediolanensibus, et coepi percontari de novis rebus Italiae. Ille averso vultu stans ait: "Non intelligo: non sum sacerdos ad grammaticam". Tum ego, "Ad quid es sacerdos?" dixi. Respondit, "Ad tria missa". Et ego in eodem genere quaesivi, "Ad qualia?" Respondit, "De beata Virgine, Spiritu Sancto, et pro defunctis". "Vade ergo in pace cum tua tria missa", dixi.

p. 139. CONTRA IGNAROS SACERDOTES

Commissa fuit cura pastoralis cujusdam pagi sacerdoti imprimis rudi et indoctissimo, qui cum sepelire vellet gladio interemptum quendam in adulterio deprehensum, affuerat ei tunc inopinato vicinus sacerdos, qui censuit prius episcopi consensum petendum. Acquievit ineptum capitulum,² atque episcopum accedens flexis genibus dixit: "Proficiat venerabilem patrem". Episcopus tacuit atque hominem indignanter aspexit. Tum rursus ille: "Proficiat venerabilem patrem: Joannem de Luterbach est mortuum, non elatum (pro 'oleo unctum'), non chrismatum: non sepultum, sine crux,³

Innsbruck.
 A. Niceforo, *Il Gergo*, Turin, 1897, p. 60, "Luce e croce

sine lux, et sine Deus ": et nihil amplius Latine sciens loqui, dixit "Herr, sol ich ihn in den Kirchhoff begraben?" Respondit Episcopus: "Non". Cui sacerdos: "Quare?" Ad hoc episcopus: "Quis te ordinavit in presbyterum?" Respondit sacerdos: "Hr, Herr". Cui episcopus: "Quando?" Ad hoc sacerdos summisse: "Herr, wisset Hr; da ich Guch die zehen Gülden gab". Ita episcopus propriam culpam invenit et extorsit.

p. 195. Cujusdam sacerdotis de D. Martino insulsum dictum

Concionabatur quidam sacerdos de meritis Divi Martini, quomodo media hyeme in summo frigore tunicam suam disciderit atque cuidam mendico impertiverit: Christum dixisse ad illum: "Domine Martine, si hujus ego tibi beneficii obliviscar, auferat me Diabolus ad inferos".

p. 252. De pedello¹ Viennensi

Quidam doctor sacerdos Viennae in rectorem Gymnasii erat electus. Is suae facultatis juridicae apparitorem, quem pedellum vulgo nominitant, in negotiis tam divinis quam humanis

si dice al bimbo quando ancora è nel ventre materno, e significa: potessi nascere e morire! (tono imperativo)".

¹ Beadle, clerk.

comitem habere solebat: et cum pro more suo sacrificium Deo oblaturus esset atque confiteor perorasset, pedellus ut rectori suo celebraturo ministraturus justum et meritum titulum tribueret, hisce verbis dicebat: "Misereatur omnipotens Deus Magnificentiae Vestrae, 1 et perducat Vestram Magnificentiam 1 ad vitam aeternam": ignominiae loco ducens si rectorem in secunda persona atque singulari numero conveniret; non perpendens in Oratione Dominica se orare "Pater noster, qui es in coelis", etc.

Facetiae Adelphinae 2

p. 284. DE INDOCTO PRAELATO

Magnus praelatus in urbe Roma cum interesset prandio delicatissimo et opiparo, et solum sinapi deesset, exclamavit: "O quanta patimus pro Ecclesia Dei". Alter ad latus ejus assidens, ipsi-us errorem castigans dixit: "Patimur". Tum primus ait: "Non magni refert, si patimus aut patimur dixerimus: utrumque enim genitivi casus est".

¹ The words in the missal being simply tui and te respectively.

² Johannes Adelphus, a doctor who rendered considerable service to German literature, published his Margarita Facetiarum at Strasburg in 1508.

33 Many of the preachers of the late Middle Ages used unconventional expressions in their sermons which would now be thought unbecoming in the pulpit: though there is no doubt that they were of great value for piercing the rather thick skulls of rustic hearers. A good example may be found in the sermon in Long fellow's Golden Legend; their more serious merits in Dr. Neale's book on Medieval Preaching. Oliver Maillard, a Breton by birth, first of the Friars Minor and then of the Observantines, was one of the most famous French preachers of the second half of the fifteenth century (he died at Narbonne in 1502): the following extract is taken from the editions of his sermons printed at Paris in 1511 (Advent sermons) and 1512 (Lent sermons). On the Tuesday of the first week in Lent he speaks against the misuse of indulgences and the rascality of some pardoners.

Suntne hic pastores bullarum? Certe ibi est magnus abusus, et miror quod praelati non apponant remedium. Durandus i dicit quod de indulgentiis nihil habemus certum in Sacra Scriptura. Legatis Basilium, Hieronymum, Augustinum: nihil dicunt de indulgentiis. Ita dicunt doctores moderni, et asserunt quod materia indulgentiarum semper fuit dubia. Sed

¹ The famous writer on ecclesiastical symbolism, bishop of Mende at the end of the thirteenth century.

diceret aliqua mulier: "Pater, ego nescio si sint bonae: nonne melius est capere postquam episcopus misit?" Credo quod capiunt partem suam, et omnes sunt fures. Heu, sunt aliqui bullatores, qui dicunt quod si scirent quod pater eorum non cepisset, numquam orarent pro eo: ad omnes diabolos!

HEGORAGOARGOARG

34 Michael Menot, also a Friar Minor, died about 1518. His Lenten sermons, preached at Tours, were published in the same town in 1519. He is remembered by his account of the Judgement of Solomon: the women are quarrelling before him, and one of them swears by her religion. "Silence," says the king; "I can see that you have never studied at Angers or Poitiers to learn how to plead!" On the first Friday in Lent he is preaching against the undue accumulation of benefices in single hands and describing the punishment of pluralism.

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¹ Maillard frequently uses this and similar expressions. "Invito vos ad omnes diabolos. . . . Ad omnes diabolos talis modus agendi. . . . Ad triginta mille diabolos talis poena." Another peculiarity was his use of the cough as a rhetorical ornament; he is said to have marked certain passages of his sermons with the words *Hem! Hem!* in the margin to show where the cough was to be introduced.

Audite, domini mei, quando scissor lignorum est in silva, primum scindit arbores per pedem, postea grossos ramos, et tandem parvos, quos simul ligat. Sic isti Protonotarii qui habent illas dispensas ad tres, immo ad quindecim beneficia, et sunt simoniaci et sacrilegi, non cessant arripere beneficia incompatibilia. Idem est eis; si vacet episcopatus, pro eo habendo dabitur unus grossus fasciculus aliorum beneficiorum. Primo accumulabuntur archidiaconatus, abbatiae, duo prioratus, quatuor aut quinque prebendae, et dabuntur haec omnia pro recompensatione, et non erit ramusculus in hoc fasciculo, qui non bene serviat. Sed de quo serviet iste fasciculus? Certe ad comburendum animas vestras in igne inferni. Nonne dico verum? Numquid hodie cardinalatus et archiepiscopatus sunt lardati de episcopatibus, et episcopatus pluribus abbatiis et prioratibus? Ad omnes diabolos talis modus fāciendi!

His description of the conversion of St. Mary Magdalene, in which he occasionally drops into a few words of the vernacular, is particularly characteristic and lively.

Magdalena erat domina terrena ¹ de Castro Magdalon tam sapiens, quod erat mirum audire loqui de sapientia ejus et prudentia: O ergo

¹ Of the landed nobility.

Magdalena, quomodo venisti ad tantum inconveniens, quod vocemini magna peccatrix? Et non sine causa. Data est tribus consiliariis qui eam posuerunt in tali statu: scilicet primus, corporalis elegantia; secundus, temporalis substantia; tertius, libertas nimia: videbatur qu'elle étoit faite pour regarder, pulchra, juvenis, alta. Credo quod non erat nisi quindecim aut sexdecim annorum quando rediit ad bonitatem Dei. Martha soror non audebat ei dicere verbum. Omnes bibendo et comedendo loquebantur de ea et de ejus vita: Martha soror timens Deum, et amans honorem de sa lignée, venit ad eam, dicens: "O soror, si pater adhuc viveret, qui tantum vos amabat, et audiret ista quae per orbem agitantur, certe poneretis ei mortem inter dentes; facitis magnum dedecus progeniei nostrae". "Quid vultis dicere, heu soror? Non opus est ultra procedere, neque amplius manifestare. Scitis bene quid volo dicere, et ubi jaceat punctus, O bigote. De quoi mêlez-vous, belle dame? Non estis magistra mea . . . scio quid habeo agere ita bene sicut una alia."

Martha rogabat eam ut iret ad sermonem. . . "O soror, essetis valde felix, si possetis videre unum hominem qui praedicabat in Jerusalem: est pulchrior omnibus quos umquam vidistis, tam gratiosus, tam honestus: credo firmiter quod si videretis eum, essetis amorosa de eo;

est in flore juventutis suae."... Illa cepit pulchra indumenta sua, aquam rosaceam pro lavando faciem suam; cepit speculum, videbatur quod esset unus pulcher angelus: misit ante se mangones portantes force carreaux cramoisis¹... Christus jam erat in media praedicatione, vel forte in secunda parte... Ipsa coepit detestari vitia, bragas, pompas, vanitates.... Tunc venerunt galandi, amorosi, et rustici, qui dixerunt: "Surgatis, surgatis; facitis nunc la bigote; vadamus ad domum."

The preacher goes on to describe how she rejected her lovers' appeals, and how she went home and fetched ex suo armoriolo aquam de senteur, quae vendebatur pondere auri, and inquired where the Lord was supping that day, in order to wash His feet with it.

KROOKKOOKKOOKKE

35 One collection, the Sermones Dormi secure, was already printed in the fifteenth century, and there was certainly an edition at Cologne as late as 1625: they are doubtfully attributed to a certain Martinus de Werdena. An edition printed at Paris in 1520 is entitled © Sermones Dominicales 2 per annum

¹ Red cloth to walk upon.

² There was also a series Sermones de Santtis.

satis notabiles et utiles omnibus sacerdotibus, pastoribus, capellanis; qui Dormi secure vel dormi sine cura sunt nuncupati: eo quod absque magno studio faciliter possint incorporari et populo praedicari. The author was sensible of the dangers of pilgrimages: Multae virgines vadunt ad Sanctum Jacobum, quae redeunt meretrices, ut patuit in anno jubilaeo de euntibus Romam, et dormientibus in paleis; item de duabus viduis Valenciae euntibus ad Sanctum Jacobum. After the Temptation in the Wilderness, he represents the Virgin sending our Saviour the dinner she had prepared for herself—some cabbage or broth, or some spinach, or perhaps a few sardines: Virgo misit prandium quod pro se paraverat, ut caulas, vel brodium, ut spinagia, et forte sardineta. The sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany, on the miracle at Cana in Galilee, is a good example of his style and treatment. He describes the conversion of the water into wine, and then goes on to talk of the qualities of ordinary wine.

Sed multi sunt qui utuntur hoc vino superflue, et inde inebriantur: unde multa mala committunt; unde legimus figuram in Genesi, quod Noe post diluvium invenit vitem quam habuit propagine, et divisit in quattuor partes et plantavit in quattuor vites (et hoc ut Josephus in

¹ St. James of Compostella.

scholastica hystoria) et fudit Noe sanguinem leonis juxta vinum seu unam vitem, juxta secundam sanguinem ovis, juxta tertiam sanguinem porcorum, juxta quartam sanguinem symiae. Bibit vinum quod postea maturum fuit et inebriatus est et dormivit, et Cham, qui fuit filius ejus, irrisit patrem suum. . . . Postquam fuit ejus, irrisit patrem suum. Postquam fuit jejunus, vocavit filios suos juxta vites et dixit eis : "Ecce juxta primam vitem fudi sanguinem leonis, ut qui biberit vinum usque ad mebrietatem erit velut leo, opprimens, destruens, et percutiens : ideo modice bibatis. Qui inebriatus fuerit juxta quam fudi sanguinem ovis, dormit, mansuescit, vel vult orare vel confiteri; quod tamen non fit cum devotione sed cum ebrietate; ideo modice utimini. Qui vero biberit de vite juxta quam fudi sanguinem porci, vult luxuriari et se velut porcus maculare; ideo modice utimini. Qui enim inebriatus fuerit de vino juxta quod effudi sanguinem symiae, facit symia; quia quicquid viderit symia, hoc etiam vult facere. Unde dicunt quod natura symiarum est: qui vult capere symiam silvestrem, accipit bitumen molle et vadit infra arborem ubi symia sedet, et tangit manum in bitumen, et facit qualis se lavaret in facie, et recedit: et cum descendit symia et vult etiam se lavare cum bitumine, bitumen ejus oculos claudit, et sic arborem ascendere non potest, et sic capitur." Ita 102

multi cum inebriati sunt a vino, faciunt sicut symia: si viderint aliquem clamare, clamant; si viderint aliquem currere, currunt ad peccatum, et sic cum bitumine peccatorum claudunt oculos, scilicet animae suae, ne valeant ascendere ad arborem sanctae crucis in mente cogitando de Christo, et ideo capiuntur a venatore, id est diabolo.

KREORKEOKKEOKKEOKK

36 The collection of satires known as the Epistolae obscurorum virorum is so well known that it will neither be necessary to explain their origin here nor to give long excerpts from them. It will suffice to say that they represent the attack made by the young humanists of Germany on the old theological schools of the Empire in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century; whether the composition of Ulrich von Hutten or not, they represent his party, with Reuchlin as protagonist and Erasmus as patron, against the theologians of Cologne, to some extent supported by Paris, and by the Dominican order at large, the principal objects of satire being the supposed recipient of the letters, Ortuinus Gratius of Cologne, the converted Jew, Pfefferkorn, and several of the former's colleagues and friends. The English reader has the advantage of a full and scholarly edition and trans-

lation by Mr. F. Griffin Stokes, with as complete an historical introduction as he could desire.

The two passages quoted here throw some light on contemporary German belief in witchcraft and practical magic, the latter combined, as often, with the ceremonies of the Mass, which could traditionally be perverted to such ends.

i. 41

VILIPATIUS DE ANTVERPIA, BACCALAURIUS, M. ORTUINO GRATIO, AMICO SUO SINGULARISSIMO SALUTEM DICIT MAXIMAM

Venit ad me unus religiosus ordinis Praedicatorum, discipulus Magistri nostri Jacobi de Hochstrat, haereticae pravitatis exquisitoris, et salutavit me. Et statim interrogavi: Quid facit amicus meus singularissimus M. Ortuinus Gratius, a quo multa didici in Logica et Poesi? Et respondit, quod estis infirmus: tunc cecidi in terram ante pedes ejus prae terrore.

The pupil goes on to explain that Ortuinus is troubled by a painful swelling of the right breast; Vilipatius at once concludes that the infirmity is due to witchcraft, explaining the cause and suggesting a sure remedy.

Quando mulieres male pudorosae vident unum pulchrum virum, sicut vos estis, videlicet qui 104 habet gilvos crines, brunellos oculos vel gravos, os rubeum, magnum nasum, et est bene corporatus, tunc volunt eum habere. Sed quando ille est bene moratus qualificatusque in mente sicut vos, et non curat ipsarum levitates et fallacias, tunc fugiunt ad artes magicas, et in nocte sedent super unam scobem, equitantes super istam scobem ad pulchrum istum virum quem amant, facientes negotium suum cum eo quando dormit, et nihil sentit nisi somnium. Aliquae fiunt cattae vel aves, et sugunt sanguinem ejus per mamillas, et faciunt suum amicum aliquando sic infirmum, quod vix valet cum baculo ambulare. Ego credo quod diabolus docuit ipsas illam artem: verum enimvero sic debemus ipsis obviare, sicut legi in liberaria Magistrorum in Rochstochio, et est verum. In die dominico debemus sumere sal benedictum, et cum eo super linguam facere unam crucem, et comedere ex mandato Scripturae: Vos estis sal terrae (id est, comeditis); postea facere unam crucem in pectore, et unam in dorso; similiter ponere in utramque aurem, semper cum cruce, cavendo ne cadat exinde. Ac postea orate talem orationem devotam:

> Domine Jesu Christe, Et vos quatuor Evangelistae, Custodite me a malis meretricibus, Et ab ipsis incantatricibus,

Ne exsugant meum cruorem, Et facient gravem dolorem In meis mamillis. Quaero, resistite illis; Dabo vobis offertorium, Unum pulchrum aspersorium;

et eritis liberatus: si iterum veniunt, tunc exsugunt suum sanguinem, et fiunt met infirmae.

ii. 42.

Magister Achatius Lampirius Magistro Ortuino Gratio S.P.D.

Valde miror, vir honorabilis, quod scribitis omnibus sociis et amicis vestris Romam versus, et solum mihi non scribitis, cum dixistis tamen quod vultis scribere mihi. Sed intellexi ab uno qui venit ex Colonia, quod velitis libenter habere illam artem, de qua dixi vobis semel, videlicet ut faciatis quod una mulier maxime amat unum: quamvis jam non scripsistis mihi, tamen volo mittere vobis, ut potestis videre qualiter diligo vos; quia non volo aliquid in secreto habere prae vobis, sed volo vos docere, "quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere charis". Est autem talis ars illa: sed non debetis aliquem

¹ Poor Vilipatius does not know that *-met* is an enclitic which can only be added to the personal pronouns.

docere, quia ita abscondo illam, quod non vellem docere fratrem meum, quia plus amo vos quam fratrem meum. Ergo volo participare vobiscum, et faciatis sic:

Quando amatis unam mulierem, tunc debetis quaerere quomodo vocatur ipsa et quomodo vocatur mater ejus: sed ponamus casum, quod amatis unam quae vocatur Barbara, et mater ejus vocatur Elsa. Tunc quaeratis unum crinem de capite ipsius Barbarae: et quando habetis illum crinem, debetis esse contritus, et confessus; vel ad minus dicere confessionem genera-Deinde faciatis unam imaginem de cera virginea, et faciatis legere tres missas desuper, ligando illum crinem circum collum ipsius. Postea uno mane audiatis prius missam; deinde accipiatis ollam novam vitreatam cum aqua, et faciatis ignem in una camera clausa undique, et faciatis fumum de thure, et incendatis unam candelam de cera nova, in qua est modicum de candela Paschali.1 Deinde dicatis istam conjurationem super imaginem:

Conjuro te, cera, per virtutem Dei omnipoten-

¹ The Paschal Candle, weighing thirty-three pounds and containing five grains of incense, stands in the chancel from Easter to Whitsuntide, and is lit at Mass and certain other offices. The wax of the Paschal Candle at St. Peter's at Rome is used to make the stamped waxen medallions known as Agnus Dei.

tis, per novem choros Angelorum, per virtutem Gosdriel, Boldriach, Tornab, Lissiel, Farnach, Pitrax, et Starnial, quod velis mihi repraesentare in omni substantia et corporalitate Barbaram Elsae, ut obediat mihi in omnibus quae volo.

Postea scribatis circum caput imaginis haec nomina cum stilo argenteo, Astrob 🕇 Arnod 🕂 Bildrom + Sydra: et sic ponatis imaginem in ollam et aquam, et ponite ad ignem, et dicatis istam conjurationem:

Conjuro te, Barbara Elsae, per virtutem Dei omnipotentis, per novem choros Angelorum, per virtutem Gosdriel, Boldriach, Tornab, Lissiel, Farnach, Pitrax, et Starnial, et per virtutem istorum nominum Astrob, Arnod, Bildrom, Sydra, quod statim incipias amare me ita, quod sine tardatione velis ad me venire, quia amore langueo.

Et tunc statim quando aqua incipiet fieri calida, satis est quia ita incipiet vos amare, quod quando non videt vos, ipsa nescit ubi est. Probatum est saepe et totiens quotiens. Et debetis mihi credere quod ista scientia est valde preciosa. Et ego non darem vobis, nisi amarem vos ita intentionaliter. Ergo vos etiam semel debetis mihi participare unum secretum. Et sic valete cum sanitate vestra. Datum Romanae Curiae.

37 Agostino Nifo (Augustinus Niphus), a Calabrian (1473–c. 1550), was a passionate student of the Greek philosophers: he became professor of philosophy at the University of Naples at the age of eighteen. He published a series of commentaries on Plato and Aristotle which made his reputation throughout Italy and Europe, and was highly honoured by Pope Leo X., who created him a count, allowed him to incorporate the Medici arms with his own, and gave him the power of conferring degrees and of ennobling three persons. The time he could spare from his studies he devoted to youth and beauty; and the book from which I have taken this extract (De pulchro et amore libri ii., Rome, 1531) is evidence that he was as expert as a courtier and a lover as in the study of Plato and Aristotle. Late in life he became somewhat arrogant about his great position in the world of scholarship: it is related that when the Emperor Charles V. came to see him, he was shown into a room containing only one chair, on which Nifo sat. "I imagine", said he, "that you are a great enough man to have another brought for you; I am the Emperor of Letters, as you are the Emperor of Soldiers." On the Emperor asking him how Princes could best govern their dominions, Nifo had the assurance to reply: "By employing persons like me". The Libri de pulchro et amore are of interest as being one of the earliest works containing a more or less scientific treatment of aesthetics: they are dedicated

to the beautiful Joanna of Aragon, and a description of her loveliness is employed as a text to illustrate his theories in general. The extract given below, from book i. ch. 5, is a careful description of the charms of his patroness, and should be compared with her portrait by Giulio Romano, now in the Louvre, which is reproduced as the frontispiece to this volume. She was also painted by Leonardo da Vinci.

Quod autem omni ex parte ac simpliciter in rerum ipsa natura pulchrum est, argumento nobis est Illustrissima Joanna, quae tum animo, tum corpore omni ex parte pulchra est. Animo quidem, est enim ea Heroines ¹ morum praestantia ac suavitas (quae animi ipsa est quidem pulchritudo) ut non humano sed divino semine nata esse censeatur. Corpore vero, quandoquidem forma, quae corporis est pulchritudo, est tanta, ut nec Zeusis, ² cum Helenae speciem

¹ Genitive.

² Zeuxis. The story is more clearly told by Nifo in ch. 3: Rem vero (namely, that quae absolute omnique exparte pulchra sit, nusquam gentium inventam esse) hanc Zeusis pictor demonstravit, qui cum rogatu Crotoniatum Helenam effingere decrevisset, antequam eam depinxisset multarum virginum Crotoniatum, et quidem pulcherrimarum, partes perspiciendo imitatus est, ut ex singulis universam Helenae pulchritudinem colligeret; per quae indicavit corpoream pulchritudinem in nulla puellarum omni ex parte perfectam esse.

effingere decrevisset, apud Crotoniatas tot puellarum partes ut unam Helenae effigiem describeret, perquisivisset, sola illius inspecta et pervestigata excellentia. Nam mediocri statura erecta ac gratiosa membris quadam admirabili ratione formatis ornatur, cujus habitudo nec pinguis nec ossea, sed succulenta; colore non pallido, sed ad rubrum albumque vergente; capillis oblongis aureisque; auribus parvis ac rotundis, ad os commensuratis 1; semicircularibus superciliis suffuscis, quorum pili breves sunt nec densitudine horrentes; cesiis ocellis cunctis stellis lucidioribus, qui charites atque hilaritatem omni ex parte perflant; subnigris palpebris, quarum pili non prolixi, sed decenti ratione compositi sunt; naso perpendiculariter a superciliorum intercapedine ducto, mediocri magnitudine atque aequali decorato. Vallecula, quae inter nasum et os est interposita, divina quadam proportione formata est; ore ad parvitatem verso, semper dulce quoddam subridente, basiola turmatim advolantia longe magis ad se trahente quam magnes ferrum advocet atque rapiat, cujus crassiuscula labella mellea ac corallina sunt; dentes quoque parvi,

¹ In chap. 36, where Nifo is dealing with the proportions necessary to true beauty, he lays down the canon that "aurium utrarumque semicirculi una conjuncti oris aperti circulum faciant".

perpoliti, eburnei ac decenter contexti; an-helitu, qui ex eo exhalat, admirabilem odoris suavitatem redolente; voce, quae non hominem sed Deam sonat; mento convalle quadam admodum interfecto; maxillis niveo roseoque colore affectis; facie universa quae ad rotunditatem tendens virilem vultum refert; recto ac procero collo, albo atque perpleno, inter humeros illustri quadam ratione collocato; pectore amplo planoque, ubi os nullum cernitur . . .; crassiuscula admodum manu silvestri 1 parte nivea, domestica² vero eburnea, quae facie ipsa non est oblongior,3 cujus pleniusculi digiti rotundique non breves sunt, unques subincurvi atque pertenues colore perquam suavi . . . ; humeris divina ratione ad caeteras corporis partes commensuratis; pedibus modicis, digitorum admirabili compositione structis, cujus symmetria ac pulchritudo tanta est ut non injuria inter caelicolas collocari digna sit. Quod si morum concinnitas, forma atque gratia tanta est, non modum in rerum natura simpliciter pulchrum, verum etiam nihil praeter hominem pulchrum dicendum est.

The back of the hand.
 The palm of the hand.
 Chap. 36, manus, cujus longitudo faciei longitudini aequalis est.



38 One of the favourite technopaegnia or tours de force in verse of the later days of antiquity was the echo-poem: examples of it are found in the Greek Anthology. Among the best of the Renaissance examples is the following little poem by Antonio Tebaldeo of Ferrara, a sixteenth-century poet who has no other great claims to remembrance.

Есно

Dic, Echo, quid vult, ut semper vivam ego maestus? Aestus. Non facit hoc spes moriens? oriens. Mene urit facies? acies. Aciesne favilla?

Illa. Diu miserum me fore reris? eris.

Respicit hunc ramum? hamum. Laurum? aurum. Et amor cor

Accensum? censum. Corde recedet? edet.

Estne silex? ilex. Quae causa meae est facis? Acis.

O rem animo exanimi pestiferam! aestiferam.

Quid per tam longum parient mea lumina fletum? Letum. Scis quid sit, quem tu adamas? adamas.

39 The books of jests or facetiae so popular in the later Middle Ages and earlier Renaissance received fresh vigour from the publication of Luther's Table Talk: the anecdotes in the newer type of book were usually, however, more reputable than in the earlier collections, except when used to make points against monks or the papacy. One of the best is the Joco-seria of Otto Melander (his real name was Schwarzmann or Holzapfel), much of which seems derived from reminiscences (and perhaps written notes as well) of his father Dionys Melander, a Lutheran minister of some note. Although many of the stories are taken from classical and Renaissance writers, there is yet a large residue drawn from his own observation and that of his father, and much may be learned from them of German life (particularly in Hesse) in the second half of the sixteenth century. Otto Melander, born 1571, died in 1640, having renounced protestantism and been made an imperial councillor. The following story (No. 607 of vol. i., Nuremberg, 1643) is almost worthy of Boccaccio.

Nobilis quidam Westphalus singulis fere diebus dominicis presbytero suo, homini juveni, facundo, et faceto, et non ita pridem ad Ecclesiae gubernacula admoto, prandium praebebat. Quum autem aliquando peregre proficisceretur, et ab arce sua jam miliare circiter dimidiatum abesset: Venit mihi, inquit famulo, rei nunc cujus-

dam in mentem, de qua quidem admoneri meam conjugem, cum ipsius sane mea etiam plurimum interest. Quamobrem pedem e vestigio¹ refer, meque illi conceptis verbis serioque mandare dic, ut ne presbytero me absente vel prandium vel coenam det, neve toto isto tempore quod abfuero meas in aedes illum intromittat, multo autem minus ipsius domum ingrediatur, sed ab ejus colloquio penitus se abstineat. Famulus se heri mandatum hoc exhausturum affirmat. Aliquousque autem ab illo digressus sic secum cogitabat et mussitabat: Nae venit hero meo in mentem vereri ne presbyter hic noster novitius, utpote juvenis adhuc, succi plenus, robustus, speciosus, et salax, ipso absente conjugis pudicitiam impugnet, ideoque omni illi cum ipso familiaritate interdicit. At noti mihi mehercule sunt muliercularum mores; hae siquidem ea demum committunt patrantque a quibus se abstinere jubentur. Ne igitur illa nobis absentibus, contra heri mei interdictum, corpus suum cum sacrifico² copulet, equidem herilis mandati nullam prorsus apud illam mentionem faciam, sed aliud quid comminiscar, quod illi per me herus significari velit. Quid quaeris? Vixdum

¹ e vestigio does not mean "from your path, from the journey which we have begun", but is regular in such Latin as this for "immediately, on the spot" (cf. p. 87).

2 See note on p. 119.

aedes nobilis ingresso famulo occurrit hera, et lacrymabunda percontatur, Ecquid sibi vult repentina ista tua reversio? Salvaene satis mei mariti res? Salvae vero, inquit servus. Sed unum est, quamobrem herus me ad te remiserit, de quo te etiam atque etiam ipsius nomine admonerem. Vult scilicet et jubet nobilis meus, ut ne se absente cum molosso 1 hoc nostro loris assuefacto lusites, aut ipsi insideas; metuit enim ne te ille forte mordeat, quod eum admodum irritabilem et ad mordendum proclivem esse norit. Ad quae hera respondet: Ecquae vero (malum) haec est inhibitio? Mihi mehercule de cane vel demulcendo vel conscendendo ne per somnium quidem unquam in mentem venit. At scio neminem omnium vivere, qui unquam me cum cane aut lusitantem aut insidentem illi conspexerit. Quapropter ista admonitione ad me quidem nihil opus erat. Servus igitur ad herum remeaturus infit: Intellexti, hera, quid viri tui verbis tibi praeceperim? Cave igitur faxis, ut dicto illi minus audiens fuisse videaris. Hera autem, Redi, inquit, ocyus ad meum nobilem, eique omnia fausta precatus dic ut tran-quillo sit animo, meaque caussa non laboret, mihi namque curae futurum, ut re ipsa intelligat me hac quoque in parte, ut in aliis omnibus, fuisse ipsi morigeram.

¹ A hound, big hunting dog. т т б

Caeterum famulus vixdum illi dorsum obverterat, ecce tibi, Mirari satis nequeo, hera inquit, cur meus mihi maritus prohibeat ne molossum demulceam aut conscendam. Magni profecto quid subsit oportet, cur hoc a me fieri nolit. Ipsa mecastor in memoriam redire non possum tale quid unquam a me tentatum, nedum factum fuisse. Quid multa? Dispeream equidem, si eum hactenus digitulo 1 attigerim. Haec cum admirabunda secum mussitasset, panes mox profert, quos cum avide devorare canem ac ipsi adblandiri insuper conspiceret, plures profert et eum ad satietatem usque pascit: tandemque illum manu etiam demulcet, factura nimirum periculum 2 tamne irritabilis foret, quam esse illum maritus per stabularium renunciaverat. At vero postquam mulier animadvertit canem istam tractationem patienter ferre: Nae valde tractabilis, inquit, molossus hic est noster, ac simul ipsi insidens dorsum illius natibus nonnihil premit. Hic igitur canis ringitur, dentesque mulieris brachio infigit, morsuque misere consauciat, ita ut chirurgum sanandis vulneribus adhibere illa cogeretur.

Interjectis aliquo to diebus nobilis domum reversus conjugem lecto affixam, aegram et pallidam offendit. Qua re attonitus: Ecquid hoc infortunii est, mea lux, inquit? Huic illa: Tua "With the tip of my finger." ² Trial, experiment.

culpa in hoc malum incidi, respondet; nisi enim tu per stabularium mihi renunciasses ne cum molosso lusitarem, nunquam illum attrectare fuissem ausa. Nobilis igitur uxori se purgans Jovem lapidem 1 jurat tale quid se per famulum non renunciasse, famulumque accersitum sic affatur: Egone tibi mandavi, furcifer, ut diceres conjugi meae ne canem demulceret? Minime vero, inquit, sed ut illi interdicerem ne nobis absentibus sacerdotem in aedes tuas intromitteret. Alterum illud ego commentus sum, quippe qui non ignorabam consuesse mulieres ea demum facere, quibus illis interdicitur. Itaque si illi omni presbyteri commercio ac consuetudine interdixissem, admisisset illa haud dubie presbyterum, et haberes tu jam pro honesta uxore foedum prostibulum. scilicet malum amoliri studui, quem non fugie-bat mulierem semper niti in vetitum,² cui eidem rei et hoc ipsum fidem facit, quod canem demulserit ac conscenderit, ut maxime hoc vetue-

² The curiosity of women and their inclination to the forbidden is a commonplace of medieval stories, and indeed of all ages and places. Bluebeard is perhaps the

most obvious example.

¹ An expression, taken from the religion of ancient Rome, for an unusually solemn oath. See the Latin Lexica ss.vv. for the various explanations that have been given of the origin of such an oath, mentioned by Cicero and by Aulus Gellius.

rim. Nobilis igitur servi prudenti consilio approbato, illum majori deinceps in pretio habere coepit, ac satius omnino esse respondit uxorem suam a cane morsam, quam a mysta ¹ isto constupratam esse.



40 How the cause of Protestantism was popularized, ibid., vol. iii. No. 351.

DE VETULA QUADAM DENTIBUS CASSA, IDEOQUE COENAM DOMINI PERCIPERE RECUSANTE

In quodam Hassiae inferioris oppido, cum plerique cives renuerant Coenam Domini perinde percipere atque et Christus eam cum discipulis celebrasset, et Princeps illam paterque patriae

"Mass-priest", a derogatory term, like sacrificus, applied to the clergy by their enemies. Isaac Vossius, canon of Windsor (an extraordinary man, of whom Charles II. said—in words that might be applied to many of the higher critics of the present day—that "he believes everything he reads except the Bible"), when asked about an old friend who had become a parish priest in the country, replied, "Sacrificulus decipit populum". In the present volume of Facetiae, however, mysta is occasionally applied to the Lutheran clergy as well.

celebrare omnes in partes vellet, placitum fuit ad extremum Reipublicae istius proceribus, ut Xenodochii sui incolas 1 admonerent ac quodammodo compellerent, ut ipsi priores ad sacram synaxim accederent. Spes enim ipsos tenebat nonnulla, futurum utique ut ipsis ad eam adeuntibus, alii quoque cum devexa aetate homines, tum adulescentiores etiam, illorum exemplo excitati, Coenam Domini deinceps eo proclivius perciperent. Proinde illi acciuntur, jubenturque ad proximum diem solis eucharistiam percipere. Esse vero ad unum omnes imperata facturos sese, sine ulla recusatione, confirmant atque recipiunt; unica tamen anicula, multi cibi bonorumque dentium mulier, inventa fuit que tergiversari atque abnuere minime dubitavit, dictitans: "Ego vero, prudentissimi domini, panem istum qui nunc quidem (o tempora! o mores!) in administratione Coenae adhibetur, conficere et extenuare, nedum deglutire, minime omnium valeo, propterea quod edentula prope-modum jam nunc sim, magna caeteroqui voluntate idipsum factura". Quid autem fit? Vix aut ne vix quidem haec effata fuerat refractaria, ecce tibi praetor falsum hunc illius praetextum impiamque tergiversationem acerbe ferens, non

¹ It is said that in more modern times the inmates of work-houses have been found of value for experimental purposes.

sine stomacho hanc continuo emittit vocem: "Ventone tu igitur victitas ac vitam toleras tuam? Potesne, cedo 1 quaeso, eum tu panem et mollire et mandere et manducare denique, qui tibi tum pransurae, tum coenaturae a Xeno-dochii praefecto apponitur ac praebetur?" Id cum negare illa haud posset, sed nolens volens cogeretur fateri, respondet ille: "Itaque et eum tu panem minime respues, qui in sacrae Coenae celebratione exhibetur, aut primo quoquo die Xenodochium istud nostrum purgabis 2". Illa ergo audiens facessendum sibi e Xenodochio, siquidem magistratui hac in parte morem non gereret ac obsequeretur, obedire jam nunc ejusque dicto audiens esse quam esurire in posterum maluit. Atque sic quidem cum caeteris augustissimum illud Domini Jesu convivium epulumque non tum modo sed postea etiam, quoties illud celebraretur cunque, pie re-ligioseque iniit. Neque vero ulla deinceps fuit ex ipsa de dentium suorum aut paucitate aut pravitate aut hebetudine denique audita a quoquam querimonia.

 ^{1 &}quot;If you please" (sarcastic).
 2 This is what is called the inculcation of religion by moral sussion.

4I The Higher Criticism does not appear to have fared much better under Lutheranism than under the old religion, ibid., vol. iii. No. 354.

DE MICHAELE HEROLDO, ET JOANNE SMINECIO, RURIS PLENO HOMINE

Annos quadraginta, eoque amplius, M. Michael Heroldus, vir venerandus et pereruditus, et egregie pius, quem honoris causa nomino, Ecclesiae Cassellanae praefuit; quum ante quidem in rure aliquot Ecclesiis laudabiliter utiliterque inserviisset, suamque ipsis fidem atque industriam aeque atque Cassellanae cumulate probasset abundeque. Hic cum Honae praeconis Evangelii officio fungeretur, evenit ut pro concione aliquando diceret nemini omnium fuisse ullo unquam tempore impune, siquidem in verbi divini ministros insultasset, injuriaque eos aut contumelia affecisset aliqua. Cui rei ut fidem faceret, exempla complura, cum ex sacris literis, tum ex historiis ecclesiasticis, tum vero ex quotidiana experientia depromta in medium afferebat: in quibus quidem et illud de quadra-ginta duobus pueris fuit, quos ursi dilaniassent duo ac membratim discerpissent, quum Elisaeo vati medium ostendere digitum atque adeo illudere, absterso omni pudore fronteque perfricta, fuissent ausi. Hanc historiam Joannes quidem

Sminecius, ille quidem ejus Ecclesiae Senior, sed homo mirum in modum insulsus, ac de munere isto (sibi non judicio sed errore assignato) mirifice placens, cum audiret, coepit illico frontem ferire, et caput scalpere, et oculos huc illuc conjicere, et tacite secum ridere, et gestibus denique totius corporis omnibus prae se ferre atque ostendere verisimilia sibi ea minime fieri quae quidem a Pastore affirmarentur. Ne multa; finita concione cuidam sibi assidenti in aurem insusurrans ait: "Equidem imperare mihi non possum quin istam concionem, utpote Ecclesiae hujus Senior primarius, Pastori in os regeram, ac probe reddam ipsum probeque depexum". Itaque ex aede mox sacra provolans in coemeterio consistit, inibique Pastorem praestolatur dum exeat, egredientemque hanc in rationem alloquitur: "Papae, Domine Pastor, quam inepta fuit ac nugatoria hodierna ista tua concio! Eccunde cedo quaeso illam hausisti? Numnam e quadam netricum 1 officina? Crediderim equidem. Vel isthaec tua de quadraginta duobus pueris ab ursis duobis discerptis narratiuncula, quam lepida fuit, O Dii, quam ridicula, quam anilis denique fabula! Ecquem nostrum ita hebetem excordemque esse reris, ut fidem tibi hac quidem certe in parte exhibeat? Cave idipsum putes: cave item imposterum istiusmodi nos ¹ Proverbial gossips.

gerris, Siculis 1 mehercule vanioribus, ne ob-Quid quaeris? Teneri profecto vix poteram quin te exsibilans mendaci manifesto coarguerem." Eo Heroldus audito stomacho confestim iracundiaque effervescit, caeteris praesertim rusticis effuse ridentibus, istaque cachinnatione sua haud obscure declarantibus sibi idem atque stipiti isti de illius concione videri. Quamobrem balatroni isti non sine stomacho haec in verba respondet: "Tibine ergo, caudex,2 mendacium dixisse ego atque liberas naenias protulisse videor? Tunc historiam istam sacram in fabulae cujuspiam numero locoque ducis? Nae tu, asine, indignus es ergo qui posthac Senioris personam partesque hac in Ecclesia sustineas." Nec mora, istuc illi munus mox moxque abrogat, ac dicam³ ipsi insuper ad Othonem Wernerum, Reipublicae Eschuicensis Quaestorem, cognatum meum, impingit: qui asinum istum acriter objurgatum cum in carcerem compingit, tum aureis etiam quinque mulctat.

RECORDOURCORNOSTR

42 It may be well to place on record the profession of faith which used to be required at Cambridge from persons proceeding to the degree of Doctor in

^{2 &}quot;Blockhead!" Nursery rhymes, fairy-tales.Dicam, a law-suit.

Divinity 1: the requirement was abolished some twelve years ago, when the degrees were thrown open to others than members of the Church of England. Although it seems first to appear in the "Ordinances" of the University early in the nineteenth century, it is certainly of an earlier date.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego A.B. ex animo amplector universam sacram scripturam canonicam veteri et novo testamento comprehensam, omniaque illa, quae vera ecclesia Christi, sancta et apostolica, verbo Dei subjecta et eodem gubernata, respuit, respuo; quae tenet, teneo; et in his omnibus ad finem usque vitae perseverabo, Deo mihi pro summa sua misericordia gratiam praestante, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

RECORSCORSCOSK

43 Modern attempts at composition in medieval Latin are not often happy. The following poem from Baudelaire's Fleurs du Mal, published in 1857, draws its inspiration from classical sources as well as from litanies to the Blessed Virgin, and attains a

¹ Note that the holder of this degree is properly called, especially if Latin is being used, S.T.P. (Sanctae Theologiae Professor) as well as D.D.

high standard in its imagery and restraint, which do not too easily coexist. It was written, we are told, "in honour of a pious and learned modiste".

Readers of Latin poetry written by Frenchmen must remember that French accentuation—an equal accent on every syllable, almost reaching, it sometimes seems to us, a heavier accent on the last—is carried into the pronunciation of Latin words. Thus in the charming Easter hymn, "O Filii et Filiae" (familiar to English churchgoers as "O Sons and Daughters, let us sing"), we must read and sing,—

Et Máriá Magdálené Et Jácobi et Sálomé Venerunt corpus tangere,

and the principle must be remembered in reading Baudelaire's Franciscae meae laudes.

Novis te cantabo chordis, O novelletum quod ludis In solitudine cordis.

Esto sertis implicata, O foemina delicata Per quam solvuntur peccata.

Sicut beneficum Lethe, Hauriam oscula de te, Quae imbuta es magnete. Quum vitiorum tempestas Turbabat omnes semitas, Apparuisti, Deitas,

Velut stella salutaris In naufragiis amaris . . . Suspendam cor tuis aris!

Piscina plena virtutis, Fons aeternae juventutis, Labris vocem redde mutis!

Quod erat spurcum, cremasti; Quod rudius, exaequasti; Quod debile, confirmasti!

In fame mea taberna, In nocte mea lucerna, Recte me semper guberna.

Adde nunc vires viribus, Dulce balneum suavibus Unguentatum odoribus!

Meos circa lumbos mica, O castitatis lorica, Aqua tinca seraphica;

Patera gemmis corusca, Panis salsus, mollis esca, Divinum vinum, Francisca! 44 Lord Dufferin, visiting Iceland, Jan Mayen Island and Spitsbergen in 1856 in his schooner Foam, published in 1857 his most excellent account of his travels under the title of Letters from High Latitudes. In Chapter VI. he describes a noble banquet offered to him by the dignitaries of Reykjavik, and it is clear that at that date not even the beginnings of the prohibitionist campaign had reached Iceland. On the second occasion when his health was proposed—by the Bishop, "in a magnificent Latin oration of some twenty minutes", he replied, he tells us, in the same language. The footnotes are his own: "a translation", he calls them, "for the benefit of the unlearned".

Viri illustres, *I began*, insolitus ut sum ad publicum loquendum, ego propero respondere ad complimentum quod recte reverendus prelaticus mihi fecit, in proponendo meam salutem: et supplico vos credere quod multum gratificatus et flattificatus sum honore tam distincto.

Bibere, viri illustres, res est, quae in omnibus terris "domum ¹ venit ad hominum negotia et pectora": requirit "haustum ² longum, haustum fortem, et haustum omnes simul": ut

¹ "Comes home to men's business and bosoms."—
"Paterfamilias", *Times*.

² "A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether."— Nelson at the Nile.

canit Poeta, "unum¹ tactum Naturae totum orbem facit consanguineum", et hominis Natura est-bibere.2

Viri illustres, alterum est sentimentum equaliter universale: terra communis est super quam septentrionales et meridionales eâdem enthusiasmâ convenire possunt: est necesse quod id nominarem? Ad pulchrum sexum devotio!

Amor ³ regit palatium, castra, lucum: dubito sub quo capite vestram jucundam civitatem numerare debeam. Palatium? non Regem! Castra? non milites! Lucum? non ullam arborem habetis! Tamen Cupido vos dominat haud aliter quam alios,-et virginum Islandarum pulchritudo per omnes regiones cognita est.

Bibamus salutem earum, et confusionem ad omnes bacularios: speramus quod eae carae et benedictae creaturae invenient tot maritos quot velint,-quod geminos quotannis habeant, et quod earum filiae, maternum exemplum sequentes, gentem Islandicam perpetuent in saecula saeculorum.

^{1 &}quot;One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."-Jeremy Bentham.

Apophthegm by the late Lord Mountcoffeehouse.

3 "Love rules the court, the camp, the grove."— Venerable Bede.

45 There have been many modern attempts to revive the use of Latin as a universal language—a more scholarly rival of Volapuk, Esperanto, and Ido. The best chance of any general adoption seems to be that it is already the language of one institution almost co-extensive with the civilized world—the Roman Catholic Church, and it is probable that many Englishmen abroad have found a few words of Latin useful in conversation with a priest casually met. The following letter is a curious example of its use

The following letter is a curious example of its use in a matter partly ecclesiastical, partly commercial. There is a Beneditine Monastery at Einsiedeln in Switzerland, which has for many years published through the great (atholic printing firm of Benziger an annual calendar, in the German language, entitled the "Einsiedler Kalender". In the 1916 issue portraits were inserted of Lord (!) Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, with the caption beneath them, "English Ministers, the two chief instigators (Hauptanstifter) of the War".

It was felt by the British Government that such an unneutral publication could not be allowed to pass without notice, and British Consuls in Switzerland were accordingly instructed to refuse to the firm of Benziger the "certificates of origin and interest" without which their publications could not leave Switzerland for foreign countries through Allied territory.

Meanwhile Cardinal Gasquet, as Protector of the

Benedictine Order, had been informed of what had happened, and had written to the Abbot of Einsiedeln on the matter through the Abbot Primate of the Benedictines. The Abbot of Einsiedeln had already been told by Benziger of the damage caused to their trade by the British Government's action, and so he answered the Cardinal as follows:

Ex Monasterio Einsidlensi de die 30 Julii 1916.

EMINENTISSIME DOMINE PRINCEPS,

Ex litteris Eminentiae Vestrae Reverendissimae ad Reverendissimum Abbatem nostrum Primatem de quibus iste suo tempore certiorem me fecerat scio, Eminentiae Vestrae notum esse textum ex parte infelicem et neutralitati contrarium Fastorum Einsidlensium quibus titulus: "Einsiedler Kalender für das Iahr 1916", quem textum omnino non cognovi priusquam Abbas Primas de litteris ab Eminentia Vestra acceptis mihi locutus erat. Ad animadversiones dominis Benziger factas isti se maxime dolere dixerunt, quod textus ille chronistae Fastorum et dictum praesertim de auctoribus belli actualis ex inanimadversione et incuria fuerit receptus et anno venturo se ad praecavendos errores nullam omnino de variis belli eventibus relationem in Fastos admissuros esse.

Hisce vero diebus Dominus Carolus Benziger,

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caput totius Officinae, ad me venit petens enixe, ut ad Dominationem Vestram Eminentissimam scribere vellem, ut pro ipsis dominis Benziger intercedere dignaretur apud Gubernium Altum Britanniae. Ex illa enim inanimadversione in Fastis commissa maxima ait damna pro Offi-tionem esse interruptam, quod magno etiam damno domum illam ab Einsidlensi separatam Americanam afficeret. Et ideo suadente quoque Domino Angst, antiquo Consule Generali Britannico in Helvetia, cum quo uniti eramus duobus abhinc annis in Brunnen, Dominus Benziger ad me se vertit, ut ab Eminentia Vestra implorarem auxilium, ut nempe in favorem Officinae Benziger intercedere dignaretur apud illos ad quos spectat, ut Gubernium pro gratia Dominis Consulibus in Helvetia concedat, ut Officinam dictam in favorem iterum recipiant. Quamvis Domini Benziger in lingua praecipue germanica opera sua imprimant et magnas in Germania domos succursales habeant, promittunt tamen sincere, se in posterum omnes contra ¹ The certificates of origin and interest.

neutralitatem errores vitaturos et ideo, ut jam scripsi, etiam pro anno venturo nullam omnino de anno elapso relationem chronisticam edituros esse.

Cui petitioni Officinae dictae catholicae sincere me adjungo. Indulgentia ista novum erit signum notae illius Gubernii Britannici magnanimitatis.

Nacta hac occasione exprimere mihi liceat spem, nos Eminentiam Vestram iterum in Sanctuario nostro aliquando salutare posse. Nunc per duas hebdomadas apud nos habuimus Reverendissimum Dom. Abbatem Generalem Serafini. Maxima cum reverentia Sacram Purpuram deosculans

remaneo in aestimatione et caritate sincera Eminentiae Vestrae addictissimus

★ Thomas Bossach
Abbas Einsidl.

KLOOKKOOKKOOKKOOKK

APPENDIX OF METRICAL FORMS

I. (d) Iambic trimeter, quantitative.

(f) Elegiac couplet, quantitative.

(j) Elegiacs, quantitative. [The first couplet is increased by an additional hexameter, an irregularity not uncommon in vulgar Latin.]

(1) Iambic dimeters, quantitative.

- (m) Two iambic trimeters, quantitative.
- 4. Iambic dimeters, quantitative, in four-line stanzas.
- 8. Iambic trimeters, in couplets, chiefly accentual.

12. Dactylic tetrameters, accentual, in six-line

rhyming stanzas.

- 16. Leonine ¹ hexameters ("trilices cristati"), quantitative, in rhyming couplets, with internal rhyme in each at the second and fourth feet.
- 17. Iambic dimeters, accentual, in six-line stanzas *aabbcc*.
- 19. p. 55. Dactylic tetrameters, accentual, in four-line rhyming stanzas.
- 1 "Leonine", applied to hexameters or elegiacs, means that there is a rhyme, either at the end of the line or internal.

pp. 56, 58. Four-line rhyming stanzas, accentual, of a trochaic line:

p. 59. Leonine hexameters, quantitative.

22. Juvenes . . . irregular rhyming lines, accentual.

Alte clamat . . . Rhyming trochaic dimeters in couplets, accentual.

- 24. Dactylic tetrameters, mostly accentual, allowing trochaic substitutions, except in the last foot.
- 26. As the poems in 19 (pp. 56, 58).
- 28. Dactylic dimeters, accentual, in six-line stanzas, aabccb.
- 29. Dactylic tetrameters, accentual, in fourline ¹ rhyming stanzas, allowing trochaic substitutions except in the last foot.
- 30. A four-line trochaic stanza, accentual:

Lines 1 and 3 have internal rhymes, 2 and 4 rhyme with each other.

¹ I have printed this poem as if it were in two-line stanzas with an internal rhyme.

31. The first and third are elegiacs, the second hexameters. All quantitative.

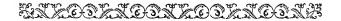
36. p. 105. Irregular rhyming couplets, ac-

centual.

38. Elegiacs, quantitative.

43. Iambic dimeters, accentual, in three-line rhyming stanzas.





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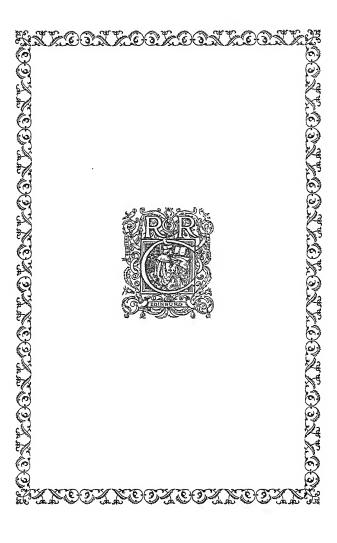
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